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Selections.

INTERVENTION IN HAYTI.

AMERICAN MISSION TO THE EMPEROR SOULOUQUE.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

TO THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES:

In answer to the resolution of the 14th ult., requesting a copy of the correspondence of Mr. R. M. Walsh while he was employed as a special agent of this Government in the Island of St. Domingo, I transmit a report of the Secretary of State, and the documents by which it was accompanied.

MILLARD FILLMORE.

Washington, Aug. 27, 1852.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, Aug. 25, 1851.

The Secretary of State, to whom was referred the resolution of the 14th ult., requesting the President "to communicate to the Senate (if not incompatible with the public interest) copies of the correspondence of Robert M. Walsh, Esq., whilst acting as commissioner of this Government at the Island of Hayti," has the honour to lay before the President the papers mentioned in the subjoined list.

Respectfully submitted. DANIEL WEBSTER

To the President of the United States.

Mr. Webster to Mr. Walsh.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, January, 18, 1851.

SIR: In a circular note to your predecessor, Mr. B. E. Green, of the 22d of February last, and to the British and French Consuls at the city of St. Domingo, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Dominican republic solicited the mediation of the governments of the United States, France and Great Britain, for the purpose of bringing about a peace between the empire of Hayti and that republic. It is presumed that a copy of the circular was forthwith communicated to their respective governments by the two last named functionaries, for, in a note to the department, of the 11th May last, Sir Henry L. Bulwer, Her Britannic Majesty's Minister here, stated that he had been instructed to represent that the French government had expressed its willingness to co-operate with the governments of Great Britain and the United States, for the purpose adverted to, and suggested a course to be pursued. Mr. Clayton replied, under date the 20th of May, that, upon the return of Mr. Green to Washington, his correspondence would be submitted to the Senate with a nomination of a *chargé d'affaires* to the Dominican republic, and that if the nomination should be confirmed, the President would be prepared to co-operate with the governments of England and France in the manner and for the purpose suggested. The short interval which elapsed between the return of Mr. Green and the decease of President Taylor, combined with other circumstances, prevented the nomination referred to; and it has since, upon reconsideration, been deemed expedient to confine the business, on the part of this government, to a special agent. You have accordingly been selected to act in that character. You will herewith receive letters from Sir Henry L. Bulwer and M. Boislecomte, introducing you to the consuls of Great Britain and France respectively at Port au Prince and the city of St. Domingo. You will also receive a copy of the instructions which, pursuant to orders from his government, Sir Henry proposes to address Mr. Usher, the British consul at Port au Prince; and I am assured by M. Boislecomte that his government will address instructions of a similar tenour to the consul of France at the same place. The motives and objects of the intervening parties are so clearly and luminously set forth in these instructions, that it is unnecessary for me to advert to them. I entirely concur in the views which they express, and expect that you will be governed by them. On arriving at Port au Prince, you will accordingly seek a conference with Mr. Usher and the consul of France, upon the subject of your mission and particularly with a view of inducing the Emperor Soulouque to consent to a lengthened truce, or a permanent peace with the Dominicans. As in co-operating for this end the three governments are actuated by philanthropic views, to which they believe any material interests which all or either may have in the question are quite subordinate, you will endeavour, in all your communications with your colleagues, and with either the Dominican or the Haytien governments, to keep your mind free from any prejudice resulting from colour or forms of government. You will not deny justice to the Emperor Soulouque because he and his subjects are of African extraction, and his government professes to be monarchical; and you will not be partial in your judgments in favour of the Dominican government, because its officers are supposed to be for the most part of the Castilian race, and because it claims to be republican in its form.

The material interests of the three countries, however, are largely involved in the restoration and preservation of peace between the contending parties in St. Domingo. France is a creditor of the government of the Emperor Soulouque to a large amount. She cannot hope for a discharge of her debt when the resources of the country, instead of being developed by pacific pursuits and in part, at least, applied to that purpose, are checked in their growth and wasted in a war with a conterminous State. Great Britain and France are both interested in securing that great additional demand for their productions which must result from the impulse to be expected for industry in Hayti and the Dominican republic from a termination of the war; and the United States have a similar interest, both from the augmentation of their trade with the island which would then ensue, and from the consideration that their commercial prosperity is intimately connected with that of both France and Great Britain. When, therefore, you shall have held free and full conference with your colleagues, and shall have ascertained the reciprocal claims of the parties to the war, if the Emperor Soulouque shall insist upon maintaining a belligerent attitude until all his demands shall have been satisfied by the opposite party, you will unite with your colleagues in remonstrating against this course on his part. If the remonstrance should prove to be unavailing, you will signify to the Emperor that you shall give immediate notice to your government, that the President, with the concurrence of Congress, may adopt such measures, in co-operation with the governments of England and France, as may cause the intervention of the three powers to be respected; and you will lose no time in communicating the result to this department. The Emperor should be made properly aware of the dangers which he and his country may encounter if he should be unfortunately advised to reject reasonable terms of pacification; but you will stop at remonstrance until further orders.

If, however, your joint and concurrent representations should induce the Emperor Soulouque to make an abatement of his demands, which you and your colleagues may deem reasonable, you will, in concert with them, make this known to the Dominican government, and will recommend their adoption of a peace on that basis. You will, however, give a patient hearing to any objections which that government may advance, and if you and your colleagues should deem those objections solid, you will communicate them to the minister for foreign affairs of Hayti, and will require from him an answer to them. If this answer should not be given within a reasonable time, or if, when given, it should not prove to be satisfactory, you will then, conjointly with your colleagues, require the Emperor to conclude a permanent peace with the Dominican government upon the basis which you may jointly prescribe to him, or to consent to a truce with that government of not less than ten years.

You will write to the department as frequently as opportunities may permit, in order that if further instructions should be necessary, they may, after consultation with the ministers of Great Britain and France, be transmitted accordingly.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant, DANIEL WEBSTER.

To R. M. Walsh, Esq., &c. &c.

Following this letter is one of nearly similar import, from Sir Henry L. Bulwer, addressed to T. N. Usher, the British Consul in Hayti. We copy the only portions which differ in any material point from the instructions of Mr. Webster:

BRITISH LEGATION, WASHINGTON, December, 1850.

SIR: On receiving this despatch, you will confer with the Consul and Chargé d'affaires of France, who will receive one of similar purport at the same time from the Minister of the French republic at this place; and you will also put yourself in communication with the Chargé d'affaires of the United States, who will by that time be appointed to the government of St. Domingo, but who, as the United States does not send any formal agent to Hayti, will act with you in this matter, and be furnished with instructions from the United States Secretary of State, expressing views entirely analagous with those of the governments of Great Britain and France, and orders to carry out those views conjointly with you in the most effective manner that the forms of the United States government in this stage of the affair will admit of.

* * * * * * *

Should the Emperor Soulouque refuse his consent to this reasonable request, he will be acting in a manner highly injurious to his own interests and those of his subjects; and as the effects of his conduct will probably extend beyond his own dominions and affect other powers, you will not fail to state to him that the governments of such powers will deem that they have, by their previous warning and counsel, placed themselves in a position which justifies them to take at once, and even without further notice, any steps which they may consider it either for the interest of their own people or according to their general duty towards humanity to adopt.

* * * * * * *

Should the government of Hayti persist in refusing the mediation which, with a studied attention to the equity of its terms, you and your colleagues (for thus far you can all act in complete accordance) shall have offered, you will then, in conjunction with your colleague of France, and, as far as his instructions will permit, with your American colleague, menace the Emperor of Hayti with the determination of your government or governments to have the terms which you have suggested adopted in the main, or at all events not to allow the war between Hayti and St Domingo to recommence or continue until other terms shall have been submitted by the mediating powers in lieu thereof.

The menaces to which I have alluded you will make in language more or less distinct, according to circumstances; and I deem it expedient that you should be guided in this matter by your own knowledge of an important fact, viz., that the measures of coercion which her Majesty's government and that of France would be willing to adopt are at present confined to a blockade of the ports of Hayti—such as Port au Prince, Jacmel, Aux Cayes, and Gonaives.

If you deem, then, that a blockade would be sufficient, if declared and put into execution by Great Britain and France, to compel the government of Hayti to submit to the wishes which you will have expressed towards it, you may, if the danger of war appears to be proximate or imminent, menace compulsion with the conviction that adequate measures of coercion will be adopted. But if, on the contrary, you deem that a blockade would not be sufficient to obtain the required object, you will take care to make any menace of force on such vague terms as would not actually compromise her Majesty's government to employ force, until it shall have learned from you what species of force would be necessary, in order to arrive at the result which you deem that a blockade would not be sufficient to obtain.

Indeed it would always be better rather to state that you are authorized to menace force in the presumed contingency than actually to employ that menace, unless the necessity for so doing appears to you urgent, and the benefit to result from it almost certain.

* * * * * * *

You will likewise not fail to notice to me any difference which occurs, or seems to you likely to occur, between yourself and your colleagues, or any incident which induces you to believe that one or the other is not disposed to act fairly and straightforwardly, in furtherance of the fair, straightforward and humane object which her Majesty's government has in view, and which it sincerely believes that the governments of the two allies of her Majesty have also in view, and are determined fairly and straightforwardly to carry out.

* * * * * * *

I have, &c., H. L. BULWER.

T. N. Usher, Esq., &c. &c.

The French minister writes to Mr. Webster, that Sir Henry Bulwer's introductions "were in strict unison with those that the Consul of the French republic had received."

Mr. Webster to Mr. Walsh.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, January 18, 1851.

SIR: Mr. F. B. Green was instructed to propose to the Haytien government an arrangement for the reciprocal recognition of United States consuls in Hayti, and of Haytien consuls in the United States. Any arrangement which he might make for the purpose, however, was not to bind his own government until made known here for consideration. Accordingly, upon his application, the commercial agents of the United States in Hayti were recognised as consuls, and the department has received a letter from the minister of foreign affairs of Hayti, under date of the 7th of June last announcing the appointment of Mr. B. C. Clark as Haytien consul at Boston, and requesting his recognition in that character. With this request we are not prepared to comply; but we are willing that he or any other person, not of African extraction, should be appointed commercial agent of Hayti at Boston, or any other United States port where Haytien commerce may be supposed to require such officers. This is the class of officers which the United States now have, and for many years past have had, residing in certain Haytien ports. They had experienced inconvenience in discharging their duties, from the refusal of the Haytien authorities to correspond with them in their official character. This government, however, would have no objection to receive and consider any communication which the commercial agents of Hayti in the United States might address to it, respecting the commercial or navigating interests of that country, and will, therefore, expect that the commercial agents of the United States in Hayti will receive similar treatment from that government.

You may inform the Haytien Minister for Foreign Affaires that there is nothing in his arrangement which ought to offend any just pride in this government. It is the course ordinarily adopted and assented to by governments who, for reasons of high expediency, may not think proper to commission or receive consuls to reside at particular ports. The United States have a commercial agent at St. Thomas, because the Danish government declines to recognise a consul there.

It is to be presumed, however, that, in process of time—and perhaps before long—if the Haytien government shall abandon its ambitious projects of foreign conquest—shall devote its attention to the improvement of its own people, and shall succeed in that object so as to command the respect of dispassionate and impartial men, no nation whose interests may dictate the measure will hesitate to send consuls to their ports, or to recognise the Haytien consuls in its own ports.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant, DANIEL WEBSTER.

To R. M. Walsh, Esq., &c.

Mr. Walsh to Mr. Webster.

PORT AU PRINCE, Feb. 5, 1851.

SIR: I embarked at Norfolk on the 25th of last month, the Saranac having been detained there until that date, and arrived here on the afternoon of the 2d instant, after a pleasant but not very rapid passage of nearly eight days. The vessel, though an admirable one in many respects, does not seem to be remarkable for speed. From the Commodore and officers I received every courtesy, and, immediately on our arrival, Mr. Usher, the consular agent of the United States, came on board and tendered me the hospitalities of his house, which I was glad to accept, the warm welcome of an inn being a luxury not to be had in this place.

The following day I announced my arrival to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, who is here addressed as his grace the Duke of Tiberon, and requested an interview with him, which he gave yesterday, at nine o'clock in the morning. All business here is pretty much transacted before noon, when there is a general cessation of work for several hours, on account of the heat. I was received by the minister, in full costume, at his residence, which, though not altogether ducal, is sufficiently neat and well furnished, and put your letter in his hands. His gratification at getting it was such that I think I may assert it made him one of the happiest and proudest of men.

Our conversation was of a general nature, as I did not wish to enter upon matters of business, not having been previously able to talk with the French and English consuls, whom I had made successive efforts to see the day before. The minister agreeably surprised me by his appearance, easy manners, and cultivated intelligence. He is a tall, light mulatto, with a pleasant face and very respectable gray locks, and all the tone of a man of education and good society. On taking leave, I asked him to let me know when the commodore and myself could pay our respects to the Emperor, and, in the course of the day, was informed that his majesty would receive us this morning at nine.

We repaired accordingly to the palace at that hour, accompanied by Mr. Usher and a number of officers from the Saranac, and were received with great parade. The court-yard was filled with troops, in rather motley attire, who saluted as we passed, and the hall of reception was crowded with ministers and generals, and other dignitaries, who made quite a glittering show. Soon after our entrance, the Emperor made his appearance, in a costume which, though showy, was not in very bad taste, preceded by shouts of *Vive l'Empereur* from his courtiers, who were then presented in due form. He seemed at first decidedly embarrassed, as if he did not know what to say or do, but after awhile inquired how long the commodore would remain; and on being told that the Saranac would leave in a day or two, manifested not the least chagrin

The truth is, the big ship in the harbour is not a pleasant spectacle to his eyes, and the sending such a one just now is a ceremony of which he would much prefer the breach to the observance. It is a pity the commodore cannot protract his stay here, as the presence of the steamer would materially assist our negotiations, the logic of force being, I am afraid, the only kind which his government thoroughly comprehends, or at least is disposed to respect.

Faustin I. is stout and short, and very black, with an unpleasant expression, and a carriage that does not grace a throne. He is ignorant in the extreme, but has begun to learn to read and write, and is said to exhibit commendible diligence in his studies. Energy and decision are his most important traits, and no soft feelings are likely to interfere with their full display when occasion calls them forth, as it frequently does. There has been considerable demand for them of late, in consequence of a formidable conspiracy which was discovered a short time since, the object of which was to restore the republic.

Some prominent men were involved in it, and even his favourite aide-de-camp was arrested on a charge of being aware of its existence and concealing his knowledge. The richest man of the empire, a Mr. Lefontane, was also brought into the city from his estates the day before yesterday, and subjected to an examination; but nothing could be found against him, and he was released. People were much surprised at his escape, as it was supposed that the two hundred thousand dollars of which he is possessed would be regarded as so many proofs of guilt. There is no divinity that hedges his throne in the imaginations of his subjects, fond as they may be deemed of gewgaws and glitter. His elevation was too hasty and unexpected, brought about as it was by the intrigues of a few, to produce any dazzling effect upon the mass, and the continuance of his power depends altogether upon the fidelity of his troops. He is busy just now with the preparations for his coronation, which is to be celebrated with all the magnificence that his resources will permit; and it is stated that one of the chief causes of his intended expedition against the Dominican republic is his desire to be crowned in the city of St. Domingo, the time-honoured metropolis of the island.

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I have the honour to be, with great respect, your obedient servant, ROBT. M. WALSH.

Hon. Daniel Webster, Secretary of State.

Mr. Walsh to Mr. Webster.

PORT AU PRINCE, Feb. 14, 1851.

SIR: The day after the date of my despatch No. 1, I had a full conversation with the French and English agents, and was informed of all that had been done by them in reference to the subject of our mission, up to the moment of my arrival. In conjunction with Mr. Usher, the commercial agent of the United States, they had succeeded, some time since, in obtaining a truce of two months, with one month's notice of the renewal of hostilities, information of which, with the proper documents, was duly communicated by Mr. Usher to the department. Since then they had continued to urge a definite peace, but finding it impossible to achieve that result, they had at last, on the 19th of December, proposed a truce of ten years, in a note, of which the enclosed, marked A, is a copy. To that no answer had been given. It was therefore deemed advisable that I should have an interview alone with the minister for foreign affairs, and talk to him in the plainest manner my instructions would allow. I called upon him accordingly, the next day, and spoke to him in substance as follows:

"The government of the United States, having determined to coperate with the governments of England and France in bringing about the pacification of this island, had sent me as its agent for that purpose. It believes that the only proper way to accomplish it is for the government of Hayti to acknowledge the independence of the republic of St. Domingo, that independence having now been so long maintained as to prove the impossibility of its being overturned by the power of this empire, and, in consequence, to establish its claim to general recognition. Any further prosecution, therefore, of the war is abhorrent to the dictates of humanity and reason, and injurious to the interests of neutrals, rendering it their duty to use their best efforts to restore that tranquility which is indispensable for the welfare of all.

"The principle is now fully established that the actual possession of independence for a reasonable time entitles a nation to be acknowledged as sovereign. This is the principle which the American world has especially consecrated, and must ever uphold. It is the sole foundation, in fact, of Hayti herself, and to attack it in any way is to strike at the very root of her own institutions. The best interests of the empire demand the recognition of Dominican independence, which would give it a useful neighbour instead of a turbulent province or a determined foe. Even if the Dominicans could be subjugated for a time, their efforts would be ceaseless to throw off a yoke which they detest, and thus the whole island would be kept in a state of constant distraction, most injurious to its welfare. When they succeeded in those efforts, as they assuredly would, for a people resolved upon freedom will always achieve it, the empire would find itself materially weakened, if not altogether exhausted, and would have forfeited all the sympathies of those now best inclined to regard it with a friendly eye. In every point of view, therefore, the government of the United States entertain the conviction that it was incumbent upon the emperor to recognise the independence of St. Domingo, and I earnestly hoped that his majesty would consent to do so without further delay."

In reply, the minister made a set speech, evidently prepared with care, beginning with an elaborate geographical survey of the island and branching off into various disquisitions connected with its history, which had very little to do with the question, and manifested much more will than ability to make out a justifiable case. The sum total of his argument appeared to be simply this: that nature in the first place had designed the whole Island to be under one and the same government; and, in the second place that the constitution of 1813 had proclaimed it to be one and indivisible, and this constitution the emperor was obliged to maintain; also that the Dominicans, having voluntarily annexed themselves, had no right to withdraw from the connection. It was difficult to reply gravely to such logic as this; wishing, however, to show all possible respect, I set to work deliberately to prove that the "designs of nature," even when unmistakable, were not necessarily good titles in law, and that the proclamation, as a fact, of what did not exist, by no means called it into being; for the constitution of which the minister spoke, was promulgated long before any junction of the different parts of the island had been effected. If, I said to him, the geographical reasons which he urged were admitted as sound, they would speedily change the map of the world. Most nations, especially the strong, would find conclusive arguments of the sort for appropriating the territory of their neigbours; and eventually it would doubtless be discovered that all the islands of the West Indies ought to be brought under the same control. This reasoning, moreover, would give the Dominicans as much right to claim dominion over Hayti as it could give the latter to claim dominion over the Dominicans. Besides, the island had always, from the time of its discovery, been divided into separate States. When Columbus first landed upon it, there were five different tribes of aborigines, governed by chiefs entirely independent; and it was long before the divisions were reduced to the two which now exist. The declaration of its indivisibility was thus belied in every way, and could devolve no obligation whatever upon the Emperor such as was assumed. No rights or duties were either originated, revived, or bequeathed, by the assertions of the constitution referred to; and all arguments, therefore, based upon them, were of no account.

As to the statement that the union of the two countries had been brought about by the voluntary act of the Dominicans, so far from weakening their case it gave it great additional strength. It corroborated the fact that Hayti had no original claim upon their territory, and proved the dominion of the former was altogether incompatible with their well being as a people, which it was their right and duty to maintain. They had sought annexation in the hope that is would contribute to their happiness; but finding, on the contrary, that it resulted in oppression and suffering, they had no resource but to revert to their previous condition of separate nationality. The compact of union had been first broken by the Haytiens when they perverted it into an instrument of intolerable despotism.

The minister acknowledged that the government of Hayti had not always acted well towards the Dominicans, but said that the most satisfactory offers had been made to them for their future security, which they ought first to try before resorting to the extreme measures they had adopted. To this I replied that they were the best judges of what they might expect from the experience which they already possessed, and that the government of Hayti, having given them ample reason to believe that submission to it was synonymous with misery and degradation, could not now complain of their want of confidence in its promises. I referred, playfully, to the English proverb about a burnt child dreading the fire, and, in the phrase of ancient Pistol, "discussed the same in French unto him," which somewhat relaxed the severity of his ministerial brow.

I then went on to say, that all this debate was about abstractions, and did not touch the real merits of the case. The only thing for foreign nations to consider was the simple fact that the republic of St. Domingo is positively independent, and entitled to be treated as such, whatever may have been the original rights or pretensions of Hayti; and the only thing for the imperial government to consider was, whether it would expose itself to the various evils likely to result from the pursuit of an unattainable object instead of wisely acquiescing in a "fixed fact," and making the best of what could not be helped.

He persisted in declaring that the emperor would never abandon his rights, and said that, even if he should consent to do so, his people would not permit it.

Seeing that all further conversation was useless just then, I took my leave. He had evidently been directed not to yield in the least, and dared not go a step beyond his instructions.

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On leaving the Minister for Foreign Affairs, I called at once upon my colleagues, and had a consultation with them as to the best course to be pursued.

It was unanimously decided to be worse than useless to waste any more time in discussion. The question had been presented to this government in every light, and abundant time had elapsed to enable it to come to a conclusion. We agreed, therefore, to send in at once the note, a copy of which is enclosed, marked B. It was written in French, that being the language of one of the agents as well as of the government.

Great stress was laid by my colleagues on the fact that the co-operation of the United States would have a more intimidating effect than any threats of theirs, and that it was particularly advisable to strike while the iron was hot. No answer has yet been returned; but if one be not soon given, we will call upon the minister personally and urge it as strenuously as policy will admit.

I regret to say, sir, that I have not yet succeeded in finding a map of the country such as you desired me to send you; though I have made every effort to obtain one. With great respect, your obedient servant, ROBERT M. WALSH.

HON. DANIEL WEBSTER, Secretary of State.

A.

[Translation.]

The Consul General of France and the Consul General of Great Britain to the Minister of Foreign Affairs at Hayti.

PORT AU PRINCE, Dec. 19, 1850.

The undersigned, agents of France and Great Britain, have the honour to inform the minister of relations of the empire of Hayti, that in consequence of the refusal of the emperor to consent for a definite treaty of peace with the Dominican people, they have been required to insist upon an adoption of a truce for ten years, which would at least allow the reduction on both parts of a military condition exaggerated, useless and ruinous.

Without again recurring to those considerations of humanity, of reason, and of general interest, which are opposed either that the said people shall be deprived by force, or merely be required to make greater sacrifices to defend all those advantages and privileges which constitute a real independence, of which they have been in full possession for eight years, the undersigned see themselves obliged, although with regret, to notify the minister of foreign relations that their respective governments have agreed to adopt coercive measures for the purpose of preventing any new expedition against the territory of the Dominican nation.

The undersigned renew to the minister of foreign relations the assurance of their high consideration.

USHER, Consul of Great Britain.

MAX. RAYBAUD, Consul General of France.

B.

[Translation.]

PORT AU PRINCE, Feb. 11, 1851.

The undersigned, agents of the United States, France, and Great Britain, have already had the honour of explaining clearly, to the minister of foreign relations, the views of their respective governments in regard to the aggressive hostilities of which the Dominican people have for so many years been the object. They now request from the government of his imperial majesty a categorical answer to the following proposition: A definite treaty of peace or a truce of ten years between the empire of Hayti and the Dominican republic.

The agents of England and France having previously proposed the truce as an alternative, it was deemed necessary to repeat it in the present note. The interests of both the belligerents, those of the commerce of neutrals, and those especially of humanity, admit, in the conviction of the three high powers, of no other solution.

The undersigned cannot doubt that the government of his Imperial Majesty, in the face of such a declaration, will decide at last upon the only course which it can adopt in order to avoid the consequences that may result from any longer persistence in its resolution to destroy the nationality of St. Domingo.

WALSH, Special Agent United States.

MAX. RAYBAUD, Consul General of France.

USHER, Consul of Great Britain.

To the Minister of Foreign Relations.

Mr. Walsh to Mr. Webster.

PORT AU PRINCE, March, 3. 1851.

SIR: Our note of the 11th ultimo, of which I sent a copy with my last despatch, not having been noticed, my colleagues and myself called on the minister for Foreign Affairs, on the 18th, to ask him when we might expect a reply. He said the matter was one which demanded the maturest consideration, as it involved a breach of the constitution, which proclaims the integrity of the island, so that the Emperor could not decide upon it without first consulting the Senate. He could not, therefore, give us hopes of a positive answer before the latter portion of the month of March, as the Senate is not now in session, and must be especially convened; and he could not promise that we would certainly have it even then. We combatted, of course, the preposterous idea of the constitutional impediment, but all to vain; for, as it is the least absurd reason which the government can advance for its claim upon St. Domingo, it is adhered to with the tenacity of desperation. Besides, it furnishes an apparent excuse for delay, and His Imperial Majesty cherishes, it is said, the hope of extricating himself from the grasp of the three powers by a wise inactivity. A few days since, his private secretary was dining on board the French steam sloop-of-war now lying in the harbour, and, becoming rather communicative under the influence of champagne, very candidly informed the officers that his master would let the plenipotentiaries, as he styled them, amuse themselves for a while with speeches and notes, but would eventually get rid of them without committing himself in the least—a piece of intelligence which the officers naturally conveyed to the French consul general, as calculated to interest both himself and his colleagues. The emperor would fain believe that *entente cordiale* between the three powers cannot long endure, and builds confident expectations, particularly upon "the scrambling and unqniet time" in France. On every arrival from that country he inquires with great earnestness about the state of affairs there, and evinces infinite disgust when he ascertains that chaos has not come again. Our duty, in consequence, is to urge a decision at the earliest possible moment, and make him clearly understand that our governments are thoroughly in earnest, and not inclined to be amused with ridiculous excuses and evasions. We accordingly protested against the intention intimated by the minister of what might be deemed an indefinite postponement of a question which the government had already been given ample time to consider; telling him that even if the constitutional difficulty existed in regard to a difinitive peace, it had nothing to do with a truce, who could not deny the emperor was empowered to make on his sole responsibility, without even the appearance of overstepping his prerogative. It required some command of countenance upon the part of his Grace of Tiburon, to insist upon the incompetency of the Emperor to conclude a peace, knowing, as he well does, that the latter can do and does do whatever he pleases, and that scarcely a day goes by without his violating the sacred instrument invoked, for the nonce, to prevent him from performing an act to which he is averse. The minister, however, had learned his lesson, and repeated it to the end—"His Majesty would do nothing without consulting the Senate, his first duty being to guard and preserve the constitution."

I thought I might then try the effect of an argument, which I took care to represent as wholly unofficial and private, my government having no knowledge of it whatever. The day before I left Norfolk I was told by a friend that he had been offered a command in an expedition which was contemplated to go to St. Domingo and assist its inhabitants against the Haytiens. This fact I communicated to the minister with all plausable emphasis, dwelling upon the perilous probability that, should such an expedition ever land upon the island, all the miseries and horrors with which the emperor was now threatening the Dominicans would be brought to his own door; that the desperadoes composing it would never rest until they had exhausted every effort to overwhelm the empire; and that, even if they should fail in destroying it, the evils they would suffer would be almost equivalent to ruin. The only sure way, I added, to arrest the danger was to conclude a peace, and by thus depriving the expedition of the lawful motive of lending aid to a people whose independence was wrongfully assailed, it would become the duty of the United States to prevent it from leaving their shores.

The chord was one which seemed to vibrate more strongly than any other, for the government has been in great dread of such an expedition ever since the attack upon Cuba. I begged the minister, therefore, to inform his majesty of what I had said, in order that he might fully appreciate all the dangers of procrastination; and this he assured me he would do. My colleagues, however, rather doubted his having nerve enough to keep his word, though they agreed in the opinion that the expedition would be the most effective shape of terror which could be brought before the imperial eyes. At all events he promised, on our taking leave, that he would exert himself to cause an answer to be given at the earliest possible moment.

The next day but one we received a note, of which a copy, marked A, is inclosed, informing us that the government had appointed four commissioners to confer with us. The object of this appeared so plainly to be delay, that we deemed it indispensable to make the declaration contained in our reply—note B. To this we received the rejoinder C. and at the same time an informal intimation that the commission would facilitate the action of the government by, perhaps, rendering unnecessary the convocation of the Senate. This, while it showed how little real care was felt for the counsels of that body, gave us some hope of benefit from meeting the commissioners, and we expressed our willingness to do so in the note marked D. Note E is the minister's answer.

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A.

[Translation.]

PORT AU PRINCE, Feb. 21, 1851.

The minister of Foreign Relations of Hayti has had the honour to receive your collective note, dated the 17th inst., in which you request from the government of his Majesty a categorical answer to the propositions made by you in the name of your three governments, in regard to the question of the eastern part of the island.

The questions raised by this note are of the gravest nature, and the government of his Majesty believes that they ought to be maturely considered and seriously treated, and it has just appointed a commission, composed of Messrs. A. La Rochel, D. Labonte, N. V. Piesance, senators, and Mr. Laforestrie, in order to come to an understanding with you concerning the object of your communication. The undersigned, &c., &c., L. DUFRERE.

B.

PORT AU PRINCE, Feb. 21, 1851.

The undersigned, &c., have received your note of this date, which the minister of foreign relations has addressed to them, announcing that the government of his Majesty has named a commission of four members, for the purpose of coming to an understanding with them concerning the object of their note of the 11th instant.

The undersigned will be happy to enter into immediate relations with the said commission, if it be empowered to regulate, in concert with themselves, the basis of the peace, or the conditions of the truce of ten years which the mediating powers have determined upon as indispensable for securing the tranquility of the island. But if its object be to discuss that determination, they deem it their duty to inform the minister of foreign relations, that after the clear and precise notification of it which they have made to the government itself, all that remains for them to do is to treat either of peace or a truce, or to communicate the refusal of the said government to acquiesce in it. The undersigned, &c.

R. M. WALSH, Special Agent United States.

M. RAYBAUD, Consul General of France.

T. USHER, Consul of Great Britain.

C.

[Translation.]

PORT AU PRINCE, Feb. 24, 1851.

The minister of foreign relations of Hayti has had the honour to receive the note of the agents, &c., &c., dated the 1st instant, in which they decline all discussion of the propositions which they have presented in the name of their governments.

Those propositions raise too serious questions, and those questions are too vital, not to give the government of his Majesty at least the right of knowing the reason and the motive of them, and of having the satisfaction of not taking in regard to them any resolution whatever, unless with full comprehension and after full deliberation.

The government of his majesty insists, therefore, that its commission should confer with the agents of the three powers concerning the object of their note of the 11th instant. L. DUFRERE.

D.

PORT AU HRINCE, Feb. 27, 1851.

The undersigned agents, &c., have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the note of the minister of foreign relations, dated 24th of this month.

His Excellency insists that the commission named the 21st should confer with the said agents concerning the object of their note of the 11th.

The Haytien Government requests to be informed, through the medium of that commission, of the reason and the motives of the three powers in wishing to secure the tranquility of the island by a treaty of peace, or at least by a truce of ten years.

Having already obeyed the orders of their governments to acquaint the Haytien government itself with that reason, and those motives, and the said government having been placed by them in possession of official documents sufficient for their appreciation, the undersigned are painfully surprised at seeing themselves again called upon to communicate them to a commission without powers to treat.

They must remind the minister that their mission is not to discuss the resolution, but only the mode of executing the resolution of the three high powers, to put an end to the war waged so long and so uselessly against the nationality of the Dominicans.

Nevertheless, to comply as far as they can with the wish of the Haytien government, to have a commission, which is doubtless consultative, directly informed by the undersigned of the necessity of an immediate decision, they will present to the commission a definite exposition of the causes and the object of the resolution above mentioned of the three powers—an exposition which shall be sufficiently clear and precise to admit of no doubt or misapprehension.

R. M. WALSH,
M. RAYBAUD,
T. USHER.

E.

[Translation.]

PORT AU PRINCE, March 1, 1851.

The minister of foreign relations has received the note which the agents, &c., have done him the honour to address him, under date of the 27th of last month, in which they consent to confer with the commission named by the government of his Majesty.

The members of the said commission have been apprised of it, and directed to agree with the representatives of the three powers upon the day and hour of the conference. L. DUFRERE.

F.

PORT AU PRINCE, March 4, 1851.

The undersigned, agents, &c., proceed, in compliance with the promise made by them in their note of the 27th ultimo, to the minister of foreign affairs, to the commission named on the 24th, the motives which have induced their governments to demand a cessation of hostilities against the Dominican people. Before, however, they make this explanation, which they will do as briefly as possible, of the manner in which the said governments regard this question of humanity and general interest, they must repeat their inability to enter into any discussion of those motives, or to confer with the commission, except in reference to the conclusion of a peace, or the accomplishment of a truce, as proposed long since without success, to the government of his Imperial Majesty.

In the eyes of the three powers, the independence of the Dominicans reposes upon a right so sacred, a fundamental compact as respectable, a fact as consummate, as those which secure the independence of Hayti itself. In their eyes that people is in legitimate possession of all the titles which constitute nationalities the most incontestible; a regular administration, a legislation protecting equally the persons and property of all, a military organization both on land and sea, a flag enjoying the honours due to that of a free country, international relations through accredited agents, and even a solemn treaty of recognition and commerce with one of the chief nations of the earth.

Reduced to the alternative of renouncing these advantages, or of perpetually fighting to retain them, the Dominicans have been compelled to request the intervention of the powers with whom they are connected by the aforesaid international relations, in order to free themselves from a position so deplorable.

That intervention they justly obtained, because a few words inserted in the often modified constitution of Hayti are by no means sufficient to create for that country a right of perpetual possession of the territory of its neighbour—a possession entirely fictitious at the time when that constitution was formed, continuing so during eighteen subsequent years, and again becoming so after the lapse of seven, and of which the temporary existence only demonstrated the radical impossibility of blending two races of different origin, customs, manners, and language.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs said to the undersigned, in his note of the 24th February, that their proposition of a peace, based upon a separation of those races, or even of a truce, constitutes a vital question for this country. This is to say, in effect, that the Haytien State cannot live if it does not annihilate that people itself. The step taken by the three powers shows how much they reprobate such a doctrine.

Far from perceiving in the termination of the war a dangerous question for the Haytien State, they regard it as necessary for the consolidation and prosperity of that State, causing, as it will, a cessation of ruinous sacrifices for an object vainly pursued during seven years, and which has now become unattainable.

The undersigned have thus set forth the views of their governments. They abundantly answer the two objections presented by the Haytien cabinet to the making of a peace or a truce with the Dominican nation.

They hope, therefore, that the government of his Imperial Majesty, assured of the sentiments of genuine interest by which the three powers are animated in regard to it, will no longer delay a categorical answer to their proposition.

The undersigned, being directly accredited near the said government, must declare, before concluding, that they cannot commune with it through the medium of third parties; at the same time they will be happy to discuss with the commissioners the means best calculated to accomplish the object of a pacification such as has been proposed, if it be deemed proper to invest them with the requisite powers.

R. M. WALSH,
M. RAYBAUD,
T. USHER.

G.

[Translation.]

PORT AU PRINCE, March 11, 1851.

In their *exposé* of the 4th instant, the representatives of the three powers persisting in their refusal of a discussion upon the basis of the proposition presented by them in the name of their governments to that of his Majesty, and insisting again upon a categorical answer to that proposition, the undersigned has the honour to transmit to them the following resolutions of his Majesty's government.

In regard to questions so grave as those raised by the proposition, the government of his Majesty has determined to consult the opinions of the country through its legitimate organs. The chambers will be immediately convoked, and the proposition made collectively by France, England and the United States, relative to the difficulty which divides the department of the east from the rest of the empire will be submitted to them.

The government of his Majesty will hasten, as soon after the convocation as the case of its responsi-

bility will permit, to communicate to the three powers its difinitive resolution. L. DUFRERE.

H.

PORT AU PRINCE, March 13, 1851.

The undersigned, agents, &c., have had the honour to receive the note of his excellency, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, of the 11th instant, in which he announces to them that the chambers are to be convoked forthwith, to take cognizance of the proposition concerning a peace or a truce, which has been several times made to the Haytien government in the name of the three powers.

Any determination on its part which may put an end to the difficulties that have hitherto impeded the accomplishment of their pacific mission, can only be agreeable to the undersigned, for those difficulties, if protracted, must result in affecting injuriously the friendly feeling of the three powers towards the said government. But as his excellency begins his note by asserting that the convocation of the chambers is necessitated by the continued refusal of the undersigned "to admit a discussion of the basis of the proposition" which they have transmitted to him, they are again compelled to remind him that the only discussion which they have refused is that of the reasons which actuate their respective governments in their wish to bring to a close the hostilities which have been waged against the Dominican people.

Their duty was to communicate those reasons to the government of the emperor and not to discuss them. They have frequently done so, both in writing and in conversation, as clearly and fully as possible, and far from rejecting a discussion of the proposition of the three powers, whether the basis of a peace or of a truce, they have never ceased, on the contrary, to court it and to see it declined. Neither the seriousness of the question, nor the interest taken in it by their governments, is compatible with the continuance of this misunderstanding.

The undersigned, &c., &.,
R. M. WALSH,
M. RAYBUD,
T. USHER.

Mr. Walsh to Mr. Webster.

PORT AU PRINCE, March 31, 1851.

SIR: Enclosed are copies of a recent correspondence with the Minister of Foreign Affairs. The Haytien government, it seems, took great umbrage at the phrase in my first note, "not of African extraction," which I transcribed from your instructions; and, after nourishing its anger for nearly a fortnight, gave vent to it in expressions which appeared to me so impertinent as to call for immediate rebuke. I trust that my reply will meet with your approval, especially as I know that it has had a good effect. Anything that increases the apprehensions of the government just now, is useful in reference to the main object of my mission. You will perceive that in my note of the 24th, I made a last effort to bring the government to its senses upon the Dominican question, as the chambers were on the eve of meeting. If the language which I have used is stronger than perhaps my instructions would altogether warrant, it is because the only possible chance of success consists in intimidation. My colleague, moreover, before my arrival, had menaced coercive action, and if I had allowed it to be suspected that there was not a perfect agreement between their governments and that of the United States in regard to the ulterior measures, all hope of a favourable result would have been crushed. I have taken care, however, to say nothing which can commit my government in any way to anything more than an acquiescence in the employment of force by England and France, which is authorized by the instructions of Sir Henry Bulwer. It is the intention of the English and French consuls to announce to this government an immediate blockade of its ports in case of a refusal to make either a peace or a truce. All that I shall do will be to remonstrate as directed, but in such a mode as to indicate that no opposition will be made by the United States by the enforcement of the blockade.

The chambers were opened on the 27th, a delay of two days having been occasioned by the want of a quorum. The speech of the Emperor is enclosed. It is specific enough in its tone, but nothing is known of his intentions, and opinions seem to be equally divided as to the result.

Francisque, as was anticipated, was again condemned, and immediately shot. The five others, tried at the same time, shared the same fate. So much feeling was awakened by the execution of the first, that the government deemed it advisable to issue a proclamation in regard to it, a copy of which I enclose. The speech of the Emperor and the proclamation are contained in the same journal; also, a full account of the trial of the conspirators.

It was my wish and intention to send you, ere this, a full account of the state of this country, but my health has been so weakened by the oppressive influences of this climate as to have incapacitated me from the labour. I hope, however, to be able to accomplish the task before my return.

Having at last succeeded in finding a tolerable map of the island, I send it to you by the vessel which takes this despatch.

I have the honour to be, sir, with great respect, your obedient servant, ROBT. M. WALSH.

Hon. DANIEL WEBSTER, Secretary of State.

Mr. Walsh to the Minister of Foreign Relations.

PORT AU PRINCE, March 14, 1851.

The undersigned begs leave to say to the minister of foreign affairs that some time since he addressed, under instructions from his government, a note to his excellency, in regard to the appointment of Mr. B. C. Clark as Haytien Consul at Boston. No notice whatever having been taken of that note, the undersigned finds himself under the necessity of requesting at least an acknowledgment of its receipt, a courtesy which he is willing to believe has only been neglected in consequence of the multiplicity of business which occupies his excellency's attention.

The undersigned will avail himself of the opportunity to say to the minister that, as the period to which his mission is limited is drawing to a close, he trusts that the Haytien government will use all possible expedition in giving an answer to the proposition of the three powers in regard to the pacification of the island, and that it will be such as they desire to receive. He would warn the government for the last time, in the most earnest and emphatic manner, against any attack upon the Dominican republic. It may be assured that any attempt of the kind will only result in disaster to itself. He cannot, however, permit himself to suppose that it will be so insensible to the commonest dictates of prudence and reason as to sacrifice, in pursuit of a wholly unjustifiable and unattainable object, the respect and friendship of the three powers whose good will is so essential for the welfare of the Haytien empire and people. The undersigned, &c., &c.,

R. M. WALSH.

To his Excellency the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

[Translation.]

The Minister of Foreign Relations to Mr. Walsh.

PORT AU PRINCE, March 26, 1851.

SIR: I have had the honour of receiving your two notes, of the 14 and 24th instant, in which you transmit to me the remarks of your government upon the title of Haytian consul taken by Mr. B. C. Clark, of Boston.

The government of his Majesty, understanding the prejudices existing in the United States against men of the African race and lamenting such a state of things in so civilized a country, with which Hayti entertains relations of friendship, has never thought of having itself represented near it by one of its subjects.

The appointment of Mr. B. C. Clark, at Boston, explains sufficiently that it knew well enough what it had to expect in this regard to be spared the notification thereof. As to the considerations with which you conclude your last letter, I can only say that I have noted them. I wish in no respect to anticipate the decision of the country, which will undoubtedly show itself through the medium of its representatives.

I renew to you, sir, the assurance of my high consideration. L. DUFRERE.

The Minister of Foreign Affaires.

Mr. R. M. Walsh, Special Agent of the United States, Port au Prince.

Mr. Walsh to the Minister of Foreign Relations.

PORT AU PRINCE, March 27, 1851.

SIR: I have had the honour to receive this morning your note of the 26th instant, in reply to those which I addressed to you on the 14th and 24th.

The object of my government in directing me to make the communication which I sent to the government of Hayti, in regard to the appointment of Mr. B. C. Clark, as Haytian consul at Boston, was simply to state a fact which it is necessary the latter government should understand in order that the relations between the two may be clearly defined. Nothing was further from its intention than to say aught in the least calculated to wound the sensibilities of the Haytian government or people; and nothing was said to give the slightest justification for the remarks which you have permitted yourself to make; remarks not only gratuitously discourteous, but which come with peculiarly bad grace from a government that denies the most ordinary privileges to all who are of a different race from its own.

If the prejudices to which the Haytian government has so improperly alluded, do still exist, it is attributable in no small degree to that government itself. When it devotes its energies to the successful cultivation of the arts of peace, instead of desolating one of the fairest portions of the earth with ruthless and insensate strife; when it exhibits a spectacle of national prosperity and enlightenment which shall command the respect of the civilized world; when it does this, it will materially assist in dislodging those "prejudices" by proving that they are radically unjust. Until then it cannot be entitled to denounce in any way the 'state of things" of which it has ventured officially to deplore the existence in "a country so civilized as the United States."

R. M. WALSH.

His Excellency the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

PORT AU PRINCE.

The undersigned has the honour to transmit to the agents, &c, the definite reply of the government of his Majesty to the propositions which they have presented to it in the name of their governments.

The reply contains the resolution of his Majesty's government in accordance with that of the legislative body.

The constitution does not permit the Haytian government to subscribe to the first proposition of the three powers, because, by so doing, it would violate articles 1, 4, and 116 of that constitution, and consent to the alienation of a part of the territory of the empire.

The second proposition which tends, in effect, to the same result, cannot either be accepted by the Haytian government for the aforesaid reasons.

Nevertheless deeming it a matter of urgency to give a solution to the question to the east, and to arrive, by some means compatible with the rights, the interests and dignity of the nation, and a definite pacification of the island, the Haytien government, actuated by the principles of humanity, in the name of which the three powers have interfered in the dispute, proposes that all the points of difference be regulated and settled by deputies named for the purpose, by the two parties, in equal number on both sides, and that the decision be effected under the mediation and guaranty of the representatives of the three powers.

The government of his majesty takes upon itself, besides, the engagement, from the present moment, of continuing the truce which exists, in fact since the commencement of the negotiations to this day. In testimony of its desire of peace and conciliation, it further proposes to the inhabitants of the east, that relations of commerce and friendship should be immediately re-established between them and the rest of the empire.

The desire of a pacific solution so clearly manifested by the Haytien government, the importance of the commercial relations and of the interests of the three powers with Hayti, the kindly intercourse of constant friendship between the latter and the governments represented by the three agents, the principles of the strictest justice, and of the impartiality of mediators, who, in an arrangement between the two parties to be reconciled, cannot exact from one of them exclusively, sacrifices incompatible with its existence, all give to the government of his Majesty the hope that the agents of these three governments will second its desire of pacifying definitely the east, but on equitable conditions. L. DUFRERE.

The undersigned, &c.

[Translation.]

PORT AU PRINCE, April 19, 1851.

The undersigned, &c., &c., have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the note of his Excellency, &c., of this day's date, by which, in answer to the propositions of a definite peace, or a truce of ten years, between the empire of Hayti and the Dominican republic, which they made in the name of their respective governments, he informs them of the positive rejection of those two propositions.

In consequence, they will communicate to their governments this unfortunate issue of the negotiations which they were directed to pursue, and will act in conformity with the instructions that have been given to them for such a contingency.

The undersigned, &c., &c.
R. M. WALSH,
M. RAYBAUD,
T. USHER.

Mr. Walsh to Mr. Webster.

ST. DOMINGO, May 6, 1851.

SIR: There being no news of the Water Witch, and nothing more for me to do at Port au Prince, I came here with the French Consul General in the French war steamer, the Crocodile. Soon after our arrival we called upon the President and the minister of foreign affaires, to the latter of whom I delivered your letter. They were disappointed, of course, at learning that the Emperor of Hayti would not consent to make peace, but gratified to hear that he had promised not to make war; though they expressed the utmost confidence in their ability to repel an invasion should it be attempted. It is not the dread of being subjugated, but the necessity of remaining under arms, which causes them, they say, to be so anxious for the pacification of the island. We gave them all the assurance in our power of the desire and intention of the three powers to accomplish that object, and relieve them from their painful suspense, for which they begged us to convey their grateful acknowledgements.

As the four months to which my mission is limited have nearly expired, I shall proceed without delay to the island of St. Thomas, and embark there in the English steamer for New York, where I shall probably arrive before the first of next month.

I have the honour to be, sir, with great respect, your obedient servant.

ROBERT M. WALSH.

Hon. DANIEL WEBSTER, Secretary of State.

P. S.—The day I left Port au Prince, the Minister of Foreign Affairs called upon me, and volunteered the most positive assurance that, notwithstanding the refusal of the government to make peace with the Dominicans, hostilities against them would not be renewed. We may congratulate ourselves, therefore, on having put a stop to the effusion of blood. It is evident that the propositions were rejected with fear and trembling; and I have little or no doubt that, if, in reply to the note communicating their rejection, an immediate blockade had been announced, we should have obtained at once an acquiescence at least in the ten years truce.

The document concludes with Mr. Walsh's official report to Mr. Webster of his mission to the Island of St. Domingo, from which we copy all the information not contained in the preceding despatches.

Mr. Walsh to Mr. Webster.

WASHINGTON, June 10, 1851.

SIR: I have the honour to present a brief report of my mission to the Island of St. Domingo, from which I have just returned.

On the 25th of last January I embarked at Norfolk in the United States steamer Saranac, and reached Port au Prince on the 2d of February. As soon as possible after my arrival I sought interviews with the agents of England and France, and the minister of foreign relations of the Haytien government. By the agents I was informed of what they had already done in regard to the pacification of the island without success.

On the first of May I left Port au Prince in the French war steamer, the Crocodile, in company with the French agent, and proceeded to the city of St. Domingo. There we communicated the result of our negotiations to the Dominican government.

It was one with which they could not be well satisfied; for, though it relieved them for the time being from apprehensions of attack, it did not allow them to lay aside their arms and devote themselves to the pursuits of peace; and they expressed a strong hope that the three powers would continue their friendly interposition until the independence of the republic had been secured.

That result can only be accomplished by coercing the Haytien government. All persuasion and argument are thrown away upon it, all sense of duty, and justice, and right, is merged by it in sanguinary ambition and ferocious vindictiveness. The Dominicans will listen to no terms which do not establish their national sovereignty, which they have so long and so successfully defended.

They would prefer total extermination, as they declare, and as their conduct demonstrates, to falling again under the atrocious despotism which they have shaken off; and every consideration of interest, of justice, of humanity, demands that their independence should be placed on a secure and permanent basis. I have the honour to be, sir, with great respect, your obedient servant.

ROBERT MOYLAN WALS I.

Hon. DANIEL WEBSTER, Secretary of State.

Mr. Walsh to Mr. Webster.

PORT AU PRINCE, March 16, 1851.

SIR: I have the honour to transmit herewith translations of the documents which should have accompanied my last despatch.

On the 6th of this month we held our first and only interview with the commission, to whom we presented the note marked F. This was all that we had promised to do, but the commissioners appeared so desirous of talking that we entered into a long conversation with them, in which we gave them every explanation they could wish and listened to all the objections they could urge. It would be useless to record the conversation, as it was a mere repetition of the conferences with the minister of foreign affairs, which I have already detailed.

Having thus, as we fancied, deprived the government of all pretext for further delay, as far as we are concerned, our surprise was not small at receiving the note marked G, in which it is attempted to make us responsible for the necessity of convoking the Chambers, a necessity which the minister had previously assured us was created by the constitution. Our reply is marked H. It has been our effort throughout to make the government clearly understand that, as we have no authority to enter into any arrangement not based either upon a peace or a truce of ten years, all discussion in regard to aught else would be perfectly futile. This it seemed determined not to understand, its object being to bring on a discussion of the whole matter, *ab initio*, in order to gain time, in the hope that something might eventually turn up to relieve it from the necessity of a decision. Had we assented to its wish, there would have been no hope of obtaining a definitive answer within the period to which my connection with the mission is limited. The Chambers have been regularly summoned for the 25th of this month. No one doubts that they will do exactly what the Emperor tells them; but I begin to have hope that he will tell them to counsel him to yield. From what I now learn, he is becoming impressed with the idea that the three powers are positively in earnest, and that it is better to have their friendship than their enmity.

If such be the fact, we may expect an answer of a favourable description in a few days after the meeting of the Chambers. The hope, however, is still a faint one, as everything depends upon the degree of apprehension under which he may be labouring at the moment.

"The General of Division, D. Hippolite, Duke of the Bande du Nord," has been appointed minister of the new Department of the Interior. He is said to be one of the most respectable and intelligent of the "pure blacks."

The ex-Minister of Justice, Francisque, was recently brought to trial for his connection with the late conspiracy, and condemned to death. No proof, however, of positive guilt was adduced against him; but some of his letters, containing expressions about the Emperor the reverse of complimentary, having fallen into the latter's hands, they were regarded as confirmation strong of the worst designs.

The height of treason, in his Majesty's eyes, is a contemptuous allusion in any way to his imperial person, for which no punishment can be too severe. It was perfectly understood when the unfortunate man was arraigned before a court martial, although a civilian, that his fate was sealed. He protested against so flagrant a violation of the laws of the land, and demanded to be tried by a proper tribunal; but the president of the court replied that, as the conpiracy was to be effected by force of arms, all who were involved in it, or suspected of being so, whatever their profession, were obnoxious to martial law; a piece of reasoning which admitted of no reply. Five others were tried at the same time, and condemned, among them a member of the Chamber of Deputies and an employee of the custom house, whose guilt was clearly proved. Wishing, however, to give an appearance of moderation to his acts, the emperor caused the sentence of the court to be submitted to a "court of revision," by whom it was broken on the ground of informality in the proceedings. Another court martial has in consequence been ordered, but its sentence will inevitably be the same as that of its predecessor.

A few days since, I addressed a note to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, in regard to the appointment of Mr. B. C. Clark, but as it was a mere transcript of your instructions, it is needless to send a copy of it. No answer has yet been received. With great respect, your obedient servant. R. M. WALSH.

HON. DANIEL WEBSTER, Secretary of State.

Mr. Walsh to Mr. Webster.

PORT AU PRINCE, April 8, 1851.

SIR: In my last I announced the opening of the Chambers and enclosed a copy of the emperor's speech. The ceremony was performed with all possible parade, as you will perceive by the journal which I have now the honour to transmit. His Majesty and suite were robed for the occasion in costumes just arrived from France, making such a display as I have never seen rivalled except at "Franconi's," in Paris; and certainly none but theatrical magnificoes would venture to exhibit such glittering and variegated splendour in any other metropolis, however imperial. The toilette of Soulouque himself was quite wonderful, especially the chapeau, with its numerous feathers tipped with different hues. As to the enthusiasm of the people, so loyally commemorated by the pen of the journalist, all the warmest part of his description of it is indebted for its existence to his imagination alone. All the shouts in the streets proceeded from the throats of a little mob of ragged urchins, who followed the emperor as he caracoled along on his Andalusian steed and whose patriotic feelings were doubtless raised to the highest pitch of admiration, by the marvellous glories of his appearance. The "vivas" of the Chambers were too evidently a matter of official obligation to indicate the real sentiments of those who uttered them. It may be safely affirmed, from the mode in which the emperor is generally received by his subjects, that he is only strong by position, and that there is no affection cherished for him either political or personal. If his sceptre were to be wrested from him to-day, he would be trampled at once in the dirt by those who are now the loudest in their ejaculations for his perpetual rule. It is the knowledge of this fact, and his desperate determination to sustain himself, at whatever cost, that has caused him to shed so much blood, in which he has already dyed his hands so deeply, that it might have made their black "one red." Before his sudden and unexpected elevation to the chair of State he was noted for the mildness of his disposition, amounting to almost imbecility; and those who were the chief contrivers of his election imagined that he would be a mere tool in their hands for the accomplishment of their own ends. Never was a there a more egregious miscalculation, and most of those very men have already fallen victims to their mistake. The log which they expected to convert into a ladder for their ambition, was miraculously transformed into a stork of which they became the first prey. Ignorant and stupid as he seemed, he soon evinced enough of sense to understand their purpose, and distrust them in consequence; and the moment they gave him the least excuse for getting rid of them, he did so in the most effective of all modes. Since then, and especially since his assumption of "an imperial charge," in which even "a good and virtuous nature may recall," he has fancied himself in a constant state of warfare with plotters against his power and, life, and acting upon the maxim that the first blow is half the battle, the moment he suspects, he resolves to destroy. "I know," said he to an informant of the highest authority, "that I am surrounded by persons who are seeking my overthrow; but they made me chief without my asking them, and chief I will remain if I have to use all the powder in the arsenal in shooting at the villians." With these ideas, he is, of course, not unfrequently as blind an instrument in the hands of others, who have succeeded in winning his confidence, as he could have been in those of his first adherents, and instead of acting, as he supposes, in self-defence, is only carrying out the evil designs of his sycophants, who can easily fool him to the top of his bent, by an accusing whisper or a malicious hint.

I may observe, in passing, that the phrase "shooting at" in the above quotation is very appropriate to the fusillades of this place, for it rarely happens that the individual to be shot is killed without repeated volley. There is a superstition among the blacks, that the man who gives the fatal wound will be haunted by the ghost of the slain, and they consequently always aim to miss until some accidental bullet puts an end to the torture of the victim. The ex-minister Francisque was thus fired at four times, and received several flesh wounds which covered him with blood, without however, causing him to fall. At last he reproached his executioners for their cowardice, and besought them if they were men, to finish with him at once; upon which, the officer in command made them put their muskets almost to his breast, so that there could be no possibility of his surviving the discharge. Upon another occasion, the commanding officer was obliged to bring out a field piece and point it at the shooting party, as the only means of persuading them to accomplish their task. No other mode of execution is employed here for any species of crime.

In the enclosed journal their is a report of the doings of the legislature up to the first of this month. From the apparent earnestness of the proceedings, it might be inferred that the members are fully impressed with the nature of the duty they are called upon to perform; and were it not so perfectly understood that the whole is a solemn farce, and that their decision upon "the grave question of national interest," communicated to them by the Emperor, will also be communicated to them by the same august personage, there would be good reason for predicting that their voices will not be for war. If His Majesty should intimate the expediency of peace, he will unquestionably, receive the most willing and conscientious advice to that effect from his faithful senators and deputies; but we are still in a state of uncertainty as to his intentions. They will be revealed, however, before the end of this week.

You will see, by the journal, the correspondence which has taken place between the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Chambers, in regard to a request made by my colleagues and myself to be present at the discussion of the Dominican question. It seems to have embarrassed the legislators, and at last they determined to sit with closed doors, so that we can obtain no satisfactory intelligence of their proceedings. With great respect, your obedient servant,

ROBERT M. WALSH.

HON. DANIEL WEBSTER, Secretary of State.

Mr. Walsh to Mr. Webster.

PORT AU PRINCE, April 10, 1851.

SIR: I am informed that the Chambers have appointed a joint Committee to make a report upon the Dominican question, and that the Emperor has added to it six generals, in order that the army may be represented in the business The town is now full of military personages, all the principal officers of the empire having been summoned here, to the number of nearly five hundred generals and twice as many colonels, for the double purpose of ascertaining their views concerning the war, and of giving them the decorations, just arrived from France, of the Order of St. Faustin—an Order instituted by the Emperor, in honour of himself and the saint whom he has selected as his patron. I say selected, because his real name is Quassie, and not Faustin; but there being no saint of the former appellation in the calender, he exchanged it for an epithet of more civilized and Christian sound. The order is a strict imitation of similar institutions in other monarchies, with all the different gradations of knighthood and ribbons and crosses; and these are bestowed upon the "princes, dukes, counts, barons and chevaliers of the empire," in recompense for their "zeal, patriotism, merit and talents" as military worthies. That the civilians also, who "merit distinctions for the services which they have rendered and continue to render to the country," might be duly rewarded, another Order, the "Legion of Honour," was established, which already, in consequence of the meritoricus and distinguished Haytiens, rejoices in nearly as many members as its French namesake, originated by Napoleon.

A Haytien without a decoration is a very rare as well as very unhappy individual, at least among the inhabitants of the towns. In the country, a bannana is generally regarded with more interest and admiration than even the Grand Cross of St. Faustin. Two other Orders, it is said, are soon to be instituted, in honour of the empress and the princess, and their patron saints, St Anne and St. Olive, for which the insignia are now in course of preparation by Parisian artists Ladies of eminence are to be the amiable recipients of them when they arrive; and it is said that they will be almost as multitudinous as those appertaining to the confraternities of cavaliers.

I trust, sir, you will pardon me if I sometimes wander from the serious tone appropriate to a despatch, but it is difficult to preserve one's gravity with so absurd a carricature of civilization before one's eyes as is here exhibited in every shape.

Nothing saves these people from being infinitely ridiculous but the circumstance of their being often supremely disgusting by their fearful atrocities. The change from a ludicrous farce to a bloody tragedy is here as frequent as it is terrible; and the smiles which the former irresistibly provoke, can only be repressed by the sickening sensations occasioned by the latter.

It is a conviction which has been forced upon me by what I have learned here, that negroes only cease to be children when they degenerate into savages. As long as they happen to be in a genial mood, it is the rattle and the straw by which they are tickled and pleased; and when their passions are once aroused, the most potent weapons of subjugation can alone prevent the most horrible evils. A residence here, however brief, must cause the most determined philanthropist to entertain serious doubts of the possibility of their ever attaining the full stature of intellectual and civilized manhood, unless some miraculous interposition is vouchsafed in their behalf. In proportion as the recollections and traditions of the old colonial civilization are fading away, and the imitative propensity, which is so strong a characteristic of the African, is losing its opportunities of exercise, the black inhabitants of Hayti are reverting to the primitive state from which they were elevated by contact with the whites—a race whose inate superiority would seem to be abundantly proved by the mere fact that it is approaching the goal of mental progress, while the other has scarcely made a step in advance of the position in which it was originally placed. It is among the mulattoes alone, as a general rule, that intelligence and education are to be found; but they are neither sufficiently numerous, nor virtuous, nor enlightened, to do more than diminish the rapidity of the nation's descent, and every day accelerates the inevitable catastrophe by lessening their influence and strength.

The contrast between the picture which is now presented by this country and that which it exhibited when under the dominion of the French, affords a melancholy confirmation of what I have said. It was then, indeed, an "exulting and abounding" land—a land literally flowing with milk and honey; now, it might be affirmed without extravagance, that where it is not an arid and desolate waste, it is flooded with the waters of bitterness or covered with noisesome and poisonous weeds "When I arrived here," to quote the words of an intelligent foreigner who has been in Hayti since the epoch of its independence, "there was abundance of everything—now there is a want of everything." The cultivation of sugar, which was once the fountain of wealth, is now entirely abandoned, except for the production of an intoxicating drink; and that of coffee has so much decreased, that it would not in the least be a matter of surprise, if, ere long, the supply of that indispensable article for Haytien commerce were to be insufficient for the ordinary consumption of the inhabitants themselves.

The government, in spite of its constitutional forms, is a despotism of the most ignorant, corrupt and vicious description, with a military establishment so enormous, that, while it absorbs the largest portion of the revenue for its support, it dries up the very source of national prosperity, by depriving the fields of their necessary labourers, to fill the towns with pestilent hordes of depraved and irreclaimable idlers. The treasury is bankrupt, and every species of profligate and ruinous expedient is resorted to, for the purpose of obtaining the means of gratifying an insane passion for frivolous expenditure. A great portion of the public revenue is wasted upon the personal vanities of the emperor, and his ridiculous efforts to surround himself with a splendour which he fancies to be preeminently imperial. It is a fact, that the same legislature which voted him several hundreds of thousands of francs for some absurd costume, refused an appropriation of twenty-five thousand francs for public schools. The population, for the most part, is immersed in Cimmerian darkness, that can never be pierced by the few and feeble rays which emanate from the higher portions of the social system, whilst there is a constant fermentation of jealousies and antipathies between the great majority and the only class at all capable of guiding the destinies of the land, which threatens at every moment to shatter the political vessel in which they are so perilously working. As to the refining and elevating influences of civilized life—the influences of religion, of literature, of science, of art—they do not exert the least practical sway, even if they can be said to exist at all. The priests of the altar see the worst possible examples of every kind of vice, and are universally mere adventures, disowned by the church, who alone can come here in consequence of the assumption by the Emperor of ecclesiastical authority which militates with that of the Roman pontiff. The press is shackled to such a degree as to prevent the least freedom of opinion, and people are afraid to give utterance, even in confidential conversation, to aught that may be tortured into the slightest criticism upon the action of the government.

In short the combination of evil and destructive elements is such, that the ultimate regeneration of the Haytians seems to me to be the wildest of Utopian dreams. Dismal as this picture may appear, its colouring is not exaggerated. It is as faithful a representation as I can sketch of the general aspect of this miserable country—a country where God has done everything to make his creature happy, and where the creature is doing everything to mar the work of God.

Of the individual in whose hands the whole power of the nation is lodged, I have already, in my previous despatches, endeavoured to convey some idea, and it may be easily inferred that his character offers little guarantee of prosperity or tranquility from day to day. Even if he were animated by the purest intentions, he is utterly incapable of grasping with the difficulties with which he is surrounded, and ameliorating the condition of his subjects. It is not believed that he can sustain himself for any length of time, and when he is overthrown the beginning of the end may be anticipated. Universal confusion will probably ensue with all its possible horrors. It is the dread of such a consequence of his fall, which is perhaps the strongest support of his throne. Beneath its ruins, in the apprehension of the most intelligent, not only the empire but the nationality of Hayti may be irretrievably buried—a result, however, which, deplorable as it may be to individual interests and feelings, will not eventually be a source of regret to enlightened philanthropy in its largest sense. When a nation has proved itself utterly unfit to perform its duty for its own benefit and that of mankind, its destruction can scarcely be considered a cause of grief, and its epitaph will have no claim to be written with a pen dipped in tears. With great respect, your obedient servant, ROBT. M. WALSH.

Hon. DANIEL WEBSTER, Secretary of State.

April 13.

Sir: I learned this morning from a reliable source, that in the report of the committee which will be given in to-morrow, there is a recommendation that the government shall send agents to London, Paris and Washington, to open negotiations of its own for the settlement of the question—a step which would not only be absurd, but under the circumstances might be deemed offensive. I thought it my duty, therefore, to put a stop at once to any design of the sort, and sent an intimation to the minister of foreign affairs, that an answer of such a description would be regarded not only as a refusal of the propositions, but as a disrespectful refusal. The message was received by him in such a way as to induce a confident hope that it will accomplish its object, as well as to prove that my information has been perfectly correct.

Intelligence has just arrived that Prince Bobo, commander-in-chief of the Province of the North, who was suspected of being the head of the late conspiracy is in open rebellion.

The enclosed proclamation was issued yesterday.

Mr. Walsh to Mr. Webster.

PORT AU PRINCE, April 23, 1851.

SIR: On the 19th we received the definite answer of the Haytien government to the propositions of a peace or a truce of ten years with the republic in St. Domingo. You will perceive by the enclosed translation of it, that both propositions are positively rejected. The proposal of another mode of arrangement which is contained in the note, is of course indmissable, as it involves the recognition by the Dominicans of the sovereignty of Hayti as a *sine qua non* There being a promise, however, of abstaining from hostilities until the three governments are informed of what has been done, the English and French consuls did not think themselves fully authorized to menace a blockade; and we therefore sent a reply which we could all sign—a translation of which is enclosed. There is little doubt that the Emperor is pretty well satisfied of the impossibility of ever getting possession of the "eastern part of the island," and that he will scarcely make another attempt to conquer it. So far, therefore, our mission has been productive of good—of great good, I may say—for it would be a consummation most deeply to be deplored, if the Dominicans were to be brought again under the dominion of this wretched government, which would only drag them along with it to inevitable perdition. But he will never acquiesce in any such arrangement as has been proposed until he sees a squadron in the harbour, and then he will yield at once. In the meantime, he will assume all the airs of a hero, setting at defiance the world in arms to the infinite admiration of the mass of his subjects, and will have a plausible excuse for keeping up an immense army in which he beholds his glory and his strength. His hatred, also, of the Dominicans, will be gratified by keeping them in a state of uncertainty and disquietude, which will prevent their devoting themselves to those peaceful pursuits which are indispensable to their welfare. It is a matter of satisfaction that the idea of sending agents to the three governments, to which I adverted in my last despatch, is not broached in the note of the Minister of Foreign Affairs. It is certain, however, that it was suggested in the report of the Chambers.

I need not call your attention to the absurdity of the reasons assigned for the refusal of the propositions, as they are the same that have always been given by the government for its action. They are more especially absurd, however, as coming from the legislative body, under the circumstances of its convocation, the pretence for which was that it possessed the power that it now declares it is not competent to exercise.

If the Water Witch should not arrive before the end of this month, I will leave for St. Domingo in the French steamer, the Crocodile, and there await your orders.

With great respect, your obedient servant.

R. M. WALSH.

Hon. DANIEL WEBSTER, Secretary of State.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

*** *All communications for the paper, and letters relating to its pecuniary concerns should be addressed to* SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, *New-York.*

†‡† *Donations to the Treasury of the* AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY *may be forwarded to* FRANCIS JACKSON, *Treasurer, at Boston; or to* SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, *New-York.*

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 23, 1852.

ADDRESS FROM ENGLAND.

A LATE arrival from England brings a report of a public meeting, held in London, on the 26th ult, to consider the expediency of addressing a Memorial from the Women of England to the Women of the United States, on the subject of American Slavery. That report we copy below, from the (London) *Times* of the 29th ult., and it will be seen that active measures were instituted to procure signatures to the proposed Address, and to secure its early transmission to this country.

The meeting was held at Stafford House, and was convened, it seems, at the request of the Duchess of Sutherland, a sister of the Earl of Carlyle. The ladies being assembled,

The Duchess of SUTHERLAND read the following paper: Perhaps I may be allowed to state the object for which this meeting has been called together; but very few word will be required, as all, I am sure, assembled here must have heard and read much of the moral and physical suffering inflicted on the race of negroes and their descendants by the system of Slavery prevalent in many of the United States of America. Founded on such information, a proposition appeared, a short time ago, in several of the newspapers that the women of England should express to the women of America the strong feeling they entertained on the question, and earnestly request their aid to abolish, or at least to mitigate, so enormous an evil. The draught of an address accompanied the proposition, and, as it is intended to offer that address for your adoption, I will now read it to you:

The Affectionate and Christian Address of many Thousands of the Women of England to their Sisters, the Women of the United States of America.

A common origin, a common faith, and, we sincerely believe, a common cause, urge us at the present moment to address you on the subject of that system of negro Slavery which still prevails so extensively, and, even under kindly disposed masters, with such frightful results, in many of the vast regions of the Western world.

We will not dwell on the ordinary topics—on the progress of civilization, on the advance of freedom everywhere, on the rights and requirements of the nineteenth century—but we appeal to you very seriously to reflect, and to ask counsel of God how far such a state of things is in accordance with His holy word, the inalienable rights of immortal souls, and the pure and merciful spirit of the Christian religion.

We do not shut our eyes to the difficulties, nay, the dangers, that might beset the immediate abolition of that long established system; we see and admit the necessity of preparation for so great an event; but, in speaking of the indispensable preliminaries, we cannot be silent on those laws of your country which, in direct contravention of God's own law, "instituted in the time of man's innocency," deny in effect to the slave the sanctity of marriage, with all its joys, rights, and obligations; which separate, at the will of the master, the wife from the husband, and the children from the parents. Nor can we be silent to that awful system which, either by statute or by custom, interdicts to any race of man, or any portion of the human family, education in the truths of the Gospel and the ordinances of Christianity.

A remedy applied to these two evils alone would commence the amelioration of their sad condition. We appeal to you, then, as sisters, as wives and as mothers, to raise your voices to your fellow-citizens, and your prayers to God, for the removal of this affliction from the Christian world. We do not say these things in a spirit of self-complacency, as though our nation were free from the guilt it perceives in others. We acknowledge that our forefathers introduced, nay, compelled, the adoption of Slavery in those mighty colonies. We humbly confess it before Almighty God; and it is because we so deeply feel, and so unfeignedly avow, our own complicity that we now venture to implore your aid to wipe away our common crime and our common dishonour.

There are many reasons why this address should be presented rather by the women than by the men of England. We shall not be suspected of any political motives; all will readily admit that the state of things to which we allude is one peculiarly distressing to our sex; and thus our friendly and earnest interposition will be ascribed altogether to domestic and in no respect to national feelings.

We shall propose to form a committee for the purpose of collecting signatures to the address, and transmitting it, when complete, to the United States. As a general committee would be too large for the transaction of the daily business, we shall propose a sub-committee, to report, from time to time, to the general committee; but there is every reason to hope that the whole matter may be terminated in a short space of time.

It only remains for me to acknowledge the kindness with which you have acceded to my request in attending here this day. I hope and believe that our efforts, under God's blessing, will not be without some happy results; but, whether it succeed or whether it fail, no one will deny that we shall have made an attempt which had both for its beginning and for its end, "Glory to God in the highest—on earth peace, good will towards men."

The memorial was then agreed to and a sub-committee appointed.

The ladies present were the Duchess of Sutherland, Bedford and Argyle; the Countess of Shaftesbury, Lady Constance Grosvenor, Viscountess Palmerston, Lady Dover, Lady Cowley, Lady Ruthven, Lady Bellhaven, Hon. Mrs. Montague Villiers, Hon. Mrs. Kinnaird, the Lady Mayoress, Lady Trevelyan, Lady Parke, Miss Parke, Mrs. Owen, Mrs. Carpenter, Mrs. Buxton, Miss Buxton, Mrs. John Simon, Mrs. Proctor, Mrs. Binney, Mrs. Holland, Mrs. Steane, Mrs. John Buller, Mrs. R. D. Crainger, Mrs. Hawes, Mrs Sutherland, Mrs. Mary Howitt, Mrs. Dicey, Miss Trevelyan, Mrs. Hilman, Miss Taylor, Mrs. Robson and Mrs. Macaulay.

The ladies whose names follow signified their concurrence: The Duchess Dowager of Beaufort, the Marchioness of Stafford, the Countess of Derby, the Countess of Carlisle, Lady John Russell, the Countess of Lichfield, Viscountess Ebrington, the Countess of Cavan, Viscountess Melbourne, Lady Hatherton, Lady Blantyre, Lady Dufferin, Lady Easthope, Mrs. Josiah Conder, the Hon. Mrs. Cowper, Lady Clark, Lady Paxton, Lady Kaye Shuttleworth, Lady Buxton, Lady Inglis, Mrs. Malcolm, Mrs. Seeley, Mrs. Alfred Tennyson, Mrs. Lyon Playfair, Mrs. Charles Dickens, Mrs Murray, Mrs. Charles Knight, Mrs. Marsh, Mrs. Champneys, and Mrs. Rowland Hill.

An office was appointed at 13 Clifford street, Bond street.

Such a movement, in such a quarter, is, of course, exciting a good deal of attention and comment. Addresses from people of various classes in Great Britain and Ireland to the people of this country, upon the subject of Slavery, are no new thing, but none have ever yet been forwarded from those holding the social position enjoyed by these memorialists. Mesdames Smith and Brown, in this country, have hitherto turned a deaf ear to the exhortations of their untitled sisters in the British Islands; but when a memorial comes from Duchesses, Countesses, Viscountesses, Ladies, and Ladies Right Honourable, perhaps the aforementioned Mesdames Smith and Brown of *our* aristocracy will think that there is something in the matter worthy of their attention. And this is but natural. The Duchess of Sutherland is, or has been very recently, the first lady of the Bedchamber to the Queen, and her family is at the head of the English nobility; among her associates in this movement are names as widely known as that of England itself; and though the people of this country, in their simple republicanism—if they only had any such thing—might refuse any reverence to mere rank, they must, nevertheless, needs be influenced, in some measure, by the fact that women in the highest social position in the world, to know any of whom is always held a worldly honour, have so far stepped aside from their ordinary duties and pleasures as to remonstrate at the toleration of a social evil, to which they have no personal relation, but which is of such magnitude that they can no longer think of its existence and be silent. We sincerely trust this consideration may have due weight, and that our countrywomen may be moved thereby to serious reflection.

It will be difficult for the class to whom it is addressed to find fault with the Address itself. It is temperate and judicious, and the most captious reader can take no exception to its tone. Nor can any retort be made to it, for a retort anticipated is none at all. The memorialists assume all the blame that can be imputed to England for the existence of Slavery in this country—if, indeed, they are more responsible than we for the sins of our common ancestors; nor do they make any assumption of virtue or of indignation because the peculiar wrong which characterizes our social relations does not exist among themselves. But they disarm criticism and render all replies pointless by anticipation of them, and approach those whom they address in spirit of Christian love and forbearance.

The original memorial, with its signatures, has not, of course, yet reached this country, and probably will not for some time to come. The plan we presume to be to give it as wide a circulation as possible in England, and no doubt it will be signed more numerously than any Address of the kind ever was before. What disposition will be made of it, we do not yet know; but it is to be hoped that it will be sent to those who will make the best use of it.

HAYTI.—We occupy a large portion of this week's paper with the recently published correspondence in relation to the affairs of Hayti. That this government had undertaken, in conjunction with England and France, to compel the Emperor Soulouque to conclude a peace with his neighbours, is not now first made public, but the correspondence is, nevertheless, well worth reading by those who care to study the character of the American Government. The Emperor of Hayti may be stupid, ignorant, and ferocious, but is certainly not the only potentate on the Globe who may be thus characterized. His war against the Dominicans may be unjust, undertaken with no good purpose or with a very bad one, but it is not the only war in the world which may be thus objected to. But the United States has not yet, for such reasons, established a line of conduct to be observed towards all sovereigns, nor assumed to herself the right of passing judgment upon the wars which they may see fit to carry on. Why she should interfere in this instance may excite some surprise, but it can only be in those who have not been accustomed to look for the interpretation of any questionable or dark Federal policy to the Pro-Slavery character of the Government. The *Post*, for instance, translates from the *New York Abend Zeitung*, a German paper, this paragraph:

The Fillmore administration which swore so loudly that it would never mix itself up with the affairs of foreign nations, nor desert the so-called policy of Gen. Washington, has joined with England and with France, in a conspiracy against the black Emperor Soulouque, to force the Haytiens to recognise the independence of the Dominicans—in other words, to hand the Dominicans over to France. We were not prepared for such performances on the part of our quiet administration; we did not expect intervention from the same Mr Fillmore, who struggled so strongly against the entangling doctrines of Kossuth; whom even, in his last message, he attacked in a manner which the *Evening Post* strikingly compares to "The Ass kicking the sick Lion," in the fable. We certainly could not imagine that the Fillmore administration would coalesce with England and France to interfere with Haytien matters, when that government has never recognised this empire, on account of its "African extraction." The more we become acquainted with the secret policy of the present administration, the more astonished we become.

A point will come where the more the *Zeitung* becomes acquainted with the policy, not only of this administration, but of all administrations, the less it will be astonished. Whatever political or commercial motives England or France may have had for wishing Peace on the Island of Hayti, it was quite enough for the United States that one end of it is ruled over by a black man, whose power and consequence, because he is black, it is desirable to curtail or extinguish.

The correspondence we refer to, however, is worth reading for its own intrinsic character. The letters of Mr. Green would have found a proper place in the columns of correspondence of the *New York Herald*—and did, for aught we know—but we doubt if a diplomatic agent ever before addressed such stuff to a Secretary of State. If we have nothing else for which to be thankful to Mr. Fillmore's administration, we certainly have for its publications of Diplomatic Correspondence.

THE FOREIGN SLAVE TRADE.—The (London) *Times* of a late date says of the Foreign Slave Trade:

Viscount Palmerston has obtained a return (yesterday printed) of the number of negro slaves imported into Brazil and Cuba between January and October last. Between the 1st of January and 9th of October the number of slaves supposed to have been landed at Cuba, the date of the last accounts from the Havana, was 4,118, consisting of 218 in January, 1,480 in February, 600 in July, and 796 in September, making 3,088; and one third (1,030) is added to make up for those respecting the landing of whom intelligence has not yet been procured. With regard to the importation into Brazil, it appears by a despatch from Mr. Southern, her Majesty's minister in Brazil, dated the 11th of June, 1852, that a cargo of negroes was landed from a schooner called the Palmeira of Tramandaley, on the coast of Rio Grande de Sul shortly before the 1st of May, 1852. The number of those negroes had not been reported. Mr. Southern states in the despatch: 'I think it right to add that, during the six months I have resided at this port, this is the only well authenticated case of the landing of African negroes on the coast of Brazil." No othe importation of African slaves into Brazil had since been reported. The return was moved for on the 15th inst., and ordered to be printed on the 16th (Tuesday).

Active exertions, it is well known, are making in Brazil for the entire suppression of the slave traffic there, with what result may be seen by the above report. In Cuba the case is very different, and American aid and American vessels are not wanting there to set all treaties at defiance. A correspondent of the *New York Times*, writing from Havana, says:

I have to notice that a purchase will be made in your city of a slaver by a Spaniard, whose name I send you herewith, to go directly from thence to the coast; and he is at this time waiting in New York for that purpose. It is possible that he may buy in Baltimore, but his instructions give the preference to the commercial emporium of the United States as offering the best concealment of the object. In this connection it is proper to mention that the brig Watchman, of Baltimore arrived on the south coast since my last report, and landed at the river Santa Teresa 250 negroes, of which 25 were placed at the disposal of the authorities, for their kind hearted connivance and permission for this humane dispensation of chains.

The closing testimony, as to the approval of the traffic by the supreme authority of the realm, has been uttered by a royal ordinance, which cannot be refuted by Spanish pleadings, showing the mockery which they give to their purchased faith, with "four hundred thousand pounds sterling," and other concession, the price paid by England, I think, to obtain the treaty made with Spain for suppression of the slave trade. Brigadier Don Juan Paria, Governor of Matanzas, having authorised the admission of cargoes of Africans, and received large compensation therefor, was removed by the noble and pure-minded Concha, and ordered to Spain, with a recommendation that he should be dismissed from the service, for his unblushing dereliction

of duty and official perjury. This gentleman has been reinstated in his government, by royal mandate, with full knowledge of his gross delinquency, which has in no way been cleansed or palliated by refuting declaration or evidence.

WILLIAM AND ELLEN CRAFT.

THE following letter, which we find in the last No. of the *Liberator*, will be read with interest by the friends of William and Ellen Craft:

OCKHAM SCHOOL, Nov. 10, 1852.

MY DEAR MR. MAY: I know that you and other friends will heartily rejoice to hear that my wife has given birth to our first free-born babe, on the 22d of October, and I am more than thankful to say that both he and his dear mother are now doing well. It is true, her sickness was of the severest nature, yet she bore it all firmly, and without a murmur, because she knew that she was not bringing a human being into the world to be brutified, but one whom the blessings of liberty and the pursuits of happiness may ever rest upon; for I assure you, my dear friend, nothing can be more consoling to the heart of a fugitive slave than to look upon his new-born infant, and feel that there are no chains and fetters waiting in readiness to grasp and stunt his physical structure, and no hell-born despotism like American Slavery hanging over his head ready to drop, and crush his intellectual faculties to the dust, should they dare to expand beyond the tyrant's will.

We have heard of the very incorrect article which has been going the rounds of the American papers, that my wife wished to return to the barbarous land of whips and chains! But you know that the statement is entirely false, therefore I deem it unnecessary to say any more on this point.

I have just heard that another great man has passed away from our native country; and, oh! how I wish he had lived so that every slave and ever other true lover of liberty might have seriously mourned his loss to society! But can my wife or myself, or any other victim of the Fugitive Slave Law, weep? No! for whenever we hear of a great genius like Daniel Webster being snatched from the world, with the innocent blood of a whole race clinging to his skirts, we can only say, Lord, have mercy upon him!

'Uncle Tom's Cabin' and the 'White Slave' are arousing a very great feeling of indignation in the English mind against America's peculiar institution.

We have received the *Liberator* regularly, and have always looked forward to its arrival with great pleasure, for it is the only American Anti-Slavery paper we have seen for months, except a few copies of Mr. Douglass' paper, and one copy of the *Standard*. We have also received Mr. Garrison's interesting volume, which he was kind enough to send us, and the *Liberty Bell* from Miss Weston. Do give our sincere thanks to them both, for I assure you we feel highly gratified, as well as honoured, by receiving the paper and the books.

Our boy's name is Charles Estlin Phillips, after our kind friend Mr. Estlin, of Bristol, and after Mr Wendell Phillips, the eloquent champion of human liberty.

Ellen joins me in kind remembrance to yourself and other kind friends. Yours, very truly,

WILLIAM CRAFT.

We may add to this the following article from the last No. of the British *Anti-Slavery Advocate*, contradicting an absurd rumour which has gained currency, but we presume not credit, in this country:

LETTER FROM ELLEN CRAFT.

In our last number, we mentioned that a strange report has gone the round of the slave States, to the effect that Ellen Craft had grown so tired of liberty, and of the blessings of education in England, and had become so lost so self-respect, that she had deserted her husband, and had placed herself under the protection of an American gentleman in London, on the express condition of his undertaking to restore her to that bondage from which she had so bravely emancipated herself. Of course, we did not believe this absurd calumny. Being personally acquainted with Mrs. Craft, we knew that such a course was simply impossible to one with her keen perceptions of the monstrous injustice and cruelty of Slavery. Although her experience has not been by any means of the worst, it has been tremendous. No woman of refined feelings and vigorous understanding, such as she possesses, could wish to return to the Southern Sodom However, to put the matter beyond doubt, we wrote directly to herself, and here is her answer:

OCKHAM SCHOOL, near Ripley, Surrey, Oct. 26th. 1852.

DEAR SIR: I feel very much obliged to you for informing me of the erroneous report which has been so extensively circulated in the American newspapers: 'That I had placed myself in the hands of an American gentleman in London, on condition that he would take me back to the family who held me as a slave in Georgia.' So I write these few lines merely to say that the statement is entirely unfounded, for I have never had the slightest inclination whatever of returning to bondage; and God forbid that I should ever be so false to liberty as to prefer Slavery in its stead. In fact, since my escape from Slavery, I have got on much better in every respect than I could have possibly expected. Though, had it been to the contrary, my feelings in regard to this would have been just the same, for I had much rather starve in England, a free woman, than be a slave for the best man that ever breathed upon the American continent. Yours, very truly,

ELLEN CRAFT.

COLONISATION.

WE publish the following communication and Circular at the request of the writer, a coloured man of this city, hardly deeming it necessary to say, by way of introduction, that his scheme does not meet with our approval. We have, of course, no disposition to throw any obstacle in the way of the emigration of such coloured people from this country as think they can, by that course, better their own worldly condition or do anything for the elevation of their race; but we have a protest to make against any scheme which may be made, either intentionally or even accidentally, an aid to the Colony at Liberia, or to the American Colonisation Society. That organization had its origin in hatred of the Free Coloured People, and has subsisted on that and for the selfish ends of those into whose hands it has fallen, and we believe it would very speedily absorb any enterprise, however much that might promise of good to the coloured race, which should be even remotely connected with it.

Still we are not disposed to deny to any man a hearing through these columns who proposes a plan which he thinks may be of ultimate good to his race; and for this reason we publish the following communication. We do not believe it will commend itself to those for whom it is specially designed—the coloured people; but if any of them disagree with us on this point, of course our columns are open for its examination and discussion.

A CARD FROM L. H. PUTNAM TO THE PUBLIC.

After a struggle of four years in endeavouring to establish a platform for the coloured people of this country, I am able to present to the public, a plan for the formation of Rural Districts in Liberia It aims to revolutionize public sentiment in reference to the question of Colonisation, and to transfer the basis of emigration from this country to Liberia.

From the commencement of my labour to August last, a tremendous effort was made to prevent me from establishing a farm in Liberia, as an experiment, although I was persuaded into it by some of the most influential men connected with the Society. It is known I refused to make this enterprise serve my personal interest unless I could in some way promote the interest of the coloured people through it.

I have written more than 50 pages, in documents of three to thirteen pages, to elucidate my views, and yet not a line has been alluded to in any way by those who were most active in misrepresenting me to the public. The responsibility which devolves upon me, and the delicate nature of the question, is sufficient to induce me to pursue a course worthy of the cause I deem it my duty to defend.

A letter written in March to Judge Hornblower, of New Jersey, while it was the cause of the indignation against me, is, at least, of some importance, from the fact that the communication from the Governor of Indiana to Governor Hunt, in reference to emigration to Liberia, and submitted to the Legislature in April, contained the same views, without the details, as embodied in my letter. It was written with more force than any of my previous efforts; and, while it was represented in a disrespectful manner in the Colonisation journal, I am willing to stand before the public upon its merits.

Notwithstanding the nature of the obstacles I had to contend with, as I have conquered them, I would be unworthy of public confidence and false to the interest of the coloured people if I fail to bring out, in a legitimate manner, the secret history of this subject. For this purpose, I have kept copies of letters and documents written by me, and which, with letters from Liberia, showing the extent of the plot in that country, will present a feature of some importance.

In offering up myself as a sacrifice to the vengeance of the coloured people, it was to stir up their ambition that it may be seen that they are worthy of public sympathy, and all I have suffered was for endeavouring to promote their interest.

No effort to throw discredit upon this enterprise can succeed, although it may retard its progress; and instead of being paralyzed, I am bringing out this subject with a vigour that will require more than six times six instead of six men to overthrow it, sustained as I am by influential men. L. H. PUTNAM.

New York, Dec. 21, 1852.

PUTNAM'S PLAN FOR THE FORMATION OF RURAL DISTRICTS IN LIBERIA.

By individual beneficence, with the aid of the States, in connection with the General Government.

WHEREAS, the formation of rural districts in Liberia is a question worthy of the consideration of all who feel an interest for the elevation of the coloured people and for the progress of civilization in Africa; and whereas, by developing the resources of the country is the surest means to conquer the prejudice which exists against it, and to open a field for coloured men to employ their energies in establishing a reputation for themselves and an inheritance for their posterity; and believing that this plan will tend to its accomplishment, therefore, it was devised and dedicated to the coloured people of this country and Liberia; and its success to depend upon those who are favourable to it, and for which this declaration is respectfully presented as the basis to carry it out.

FIRST—To make the cause of philanthropy a reality to the coloured man, and to enable him to command the sympathy of his friends that they may aid in his elevation; and while this plan is designed to open avenues to industry, and establishes a platform to meet the views of the people of this country, it is offered as a compromise between the coloured people and Liberia.

SECOND—The formation of Districts, is, to create an active population, by establishing farms, with a supply of provisions and implements, and secure emigrants against exposure which would be the result of a large number emigrating without means to take up their land or obtain employment

It aims to override the objections against Liberia, by such inducements as will command the confidence and co-operation of men of elevated ideas, and ambition to perform their duty in the work of civilization and as pioneers, for the elevation of their people.

THIRD—To carry out the plan on a scale of sufficient magnitude, it is designed that the districts be 10 miles square; 3,000 acres to be divided into 75 lots of 80 acres; the lots to be intersected by roads 25 feet wide, and subdivided into quarter lots for the accommodation of three hundred families in each district, which will give 20 acres to every family. The government of Liberia gives 10 acres, but our plan will secure the preemption right to 10 acres in addition to the grant. It will cost $5 per acre to clear land, three acres $15; a thatched house $15; and allowing $10 to a farm for road improvements, it will be $12,000 for the items mentioned; add to this $12,000 for contingent expenses, making the aggregate $24,000 to each district. Every family to be supplied with coffee plants to plant three acres, and two acres in provisions. All lands which may be improved to supply seed, provisions and other accommodations, shall be the property of the district, to be appropriated for missionaries, schools and such public convenience as may be required. All districts organized as contemplated in this plan, to be governed by the laws of Liberia, excepting in cases of exemption by charter granted by the Legislature of that country.

FOURTH—It is proposed, that the States respectively form a District, without any reference to the benefit of persons residing in the State, with a view to encourage industry; leaving the farms to be disposed of, as hereinafter mentioned. The object is, not to occupy the farms with emigrants from any special State, but to fill them up with whomsoever may be in want of them, and in that order application may be made on their arrival in Liberia. Under this plan, every State may manifest its disposition to do justice to the coloured people, within its limits, either by making an appropriation, or recommending the subject to Congress. While this will not alleviate the condition of the people in this country, yet, it cannot fail to confer some benefit upon Africa and those who may seek an asylum in that country.

FIFTH—If the States should not act with unanimity, the general government could carry out the plan on behalf of the States, and give a vitality to the country by creating a demand for mechanics and others. The sympathy of the American people may flow through this channel, and with a force sufficient to accomplish all they may desire. It presents two great features; justice to the coloured people and the absorption of a part of Africa; neither can its importance be exaggerated, as a powerful nation would spring into existence through the successful operation of the plan, which offers a sublime reflection for the philanthropist.

SIXTH—The plan to be carried out under the management of a Board of Commissioners, located in Monrovia, who shall act jointly with the Government of the country; it shall establish a bureau of supplies through which all disbursements shall be made; the Board of Commissioners and the bureau of supplies, shall be open to such inspection from time to time, as the Government may direct. While the aim is to secure the co-operation of the coloured people, we are equally anxious to promote the dignity of the Government and concentrate in it all the energies which may arise from the efforts.

SEVENTH—Appropriations made by any State, to be expended under the direction of its executive, or through a commission, as the case may be; remittance to be made on consignment to the Government of Liberia through a responsible house in the city of New York, acting under such instructions as may be deemed necessary for the safety of the object. Appropriations by Congress to be carried out in a like manner or in accordance with such provisions as may be embodied in the grant. While duty commands us to avoid all connection with the financial affairs set forth in this article, yet we will endeavour to act in a subordinate position with a view to keep up the degree of harmony necessary for a complete organization and an effective execution of the plan.

EIGHTH—Thirty-one Districts with three hundred families in each, would be 46,500 inhabitants; to establish three Districts every year after the first, would enable us to complete the whole in 10 years. The basis of emigration, to remain with the American Colonisation Society until sufficient vigour is given to the enterprise, to justify the development of the financial part of the plan, through the Legislature of Liberia. It may not command much attention at present for the want of comprehensiveness, but it aims to accomplish as much as we hope for from the Federal Government. To issue coupons under the endorsement of the United States, and redeemable after 20 years under a classification or gradual redemption, would depend upon the liberality which may exist in favour of sustaining us in giving a character to our institutions, as the feasibility of the scheme cannot be doubted. We could control sufficient resources to unite and enlarge the districts; explore the country and secure a convenient boundary, and give an inconceivable force to emigration, and meet every exigency that could arise from it.

NINTH.—The principle upon which the initiative to the plan was presented to the Public, and the approbation and support of influential friends; the experimental farm established in Liberia with implements and provisions furnished by us; the organization of an association in this city, and the expenditure of $1500 to sustain its operation in that country, will give but a faint idea of what has been done, as the pressure against us for presenting it to the Public, required the most vigorous efforts to resist and place us beyond its reach. We devoted three years to this subject, with a view of making such experiments as would show its feasibility and serve as a basis to present it on a scale of sufficient magnitude to meet every issue, and on a principle responsive to the sentiments of the American people. With the aid of a number of gentlemen in this city and Princeton, it enabled us to grapple with this grave subject of directing the attention of the coloured people to Liberia, and, believing we are right, we endeavoured to do our duty, and from which we anticipate the most extraordinary results. It establishes a platform for the coloured man to act for himself, upon a principle the people of this country have declared their willingness to support; and now or never, the question must be determined. To bring this subject to a crisis, it will be presented to the Legislature of the several States and the general Government, and with the pledge of influential men to sustain the effort, and a corresponding reception from the Public, will be sufficient to secure its success.

Of the many letters received from some of the ablest men in the State and from New Jersey, the following will be read with some interest:

NEW YORK, March 10, 1852.

MR. L. H. PUTNAM—*Sir:* I have examined your plan for the formation of Rural Districts in Liberia, with a view to the development of its resources and the establishment of permanent and prosperous settlements in a country which presents a broad and interesting field for social improvement and productive industry. I have long been convinced that the colony in Liberia is destined to exercise a most salutary influence upon the condition of the African continent; and there is every reason to believe that it will, by its products, contribute liberally to the wants of other sections of the globe.

Your exposition of the plan referred to and of the necessity of aiding the first efforts of the settlers is very satisfactory, and I sincerely hope that it may meet the approbation of the public. I know few objects to which an appropriation of the surplus means of wealthy and liberal individuals can be more advantageously made, and I trust your appeal to them may not be in vain. Wishing you every success, I am, respectfully, yours, JOHN A. DIX.

Shall this proposition be sustained? This is the question to be answered with some indication of sincerity. The sympathy manifested in its favour, is a sufficient guarantee that it will not fail for the want of support and for which our efforts will be directed.

Signed, L. H. PUTNAM.

NEW YORK, Dec. 1st, 1852.

A *State Temperance Convention* will be held in Albany on the second Wednesday in January, and a *Woman's Temperance Convention* on the following day and evening. Gerrit Smith, Rev. Samuel J. May, Rev. Wm. Hosmer, and other eminent speakers will attend and address the latter.

SLAVERY IN CALIFORNIA.

OF the probability that Slavery would be established in California we have spoken not unfrequently. The *Evening Post* is permitted to publish an extract from a private letter relating to politics here and in California, and from it we take the following passage showing how, perhaps, the Slavery propogandists will carry their point. Their success will be another definition of the American understanding of the word—Compromise.

Last winter, as you are aware, a bill submitting the question to the people, of "convention" or "no convention" (to revise the constitution, by striking out the Anti-Slavery clause), passed in the House, in the Legislature, but failed in the Senate, for want of the requisite two-thirds vote. This year the attempt will be renewed, and it may be with better success. By a preconcerted secret movement all over the State, southern pro-slavery men for both branches of the Legislature have been quietly foisted upon the two political parties, so that there is a large majority of such elected to the House, and so many to the Senate, as but for the old members holding over to make a majority there also. Thus while there is in California a large majority of people from the free States and opposed to enslaving the State, southern intriguers have, as usual, by machinations and concert of action, succeeded in obtaining (probably) the control of both Houses of the legislature.

They are smart, the chivalry, and play their game "very fine." The plot is this:

In this State the counties inhabited by the native Californians (being those lying south of this city), conceiving themselves aggrieved by the details of the state government—especially by the heavy taxation—are deeply discontented and strenuous for reform. This, they hope to obtain, through the medium of a convention to revise the constitution, either by a division of the State, or some alteration of the obnoxious constitutional provisions. These counties are almost to a man, opposed to enslaving the State, yet, such is their dissatisfaction that they will join the pro-slavery men for a convention.

Add to this the defects more fancied than real, inseparable from a constitution framed as ours was, and you can imagine that notwithstanding a strong Anti-Slavery sentiment in the state, a bill may be forced through the legislature, submitting to the people the question of a convention.

Then the question will not be submitted at the general election in September 1853 (for fear of a full vote and a defeat to the scheme), but at a special election called in a few weeks after the passage of the bill, and before the people at large can have half understood the question. Thus it may be that a second time, in spite of the majority of the voters of the State, a vote will be extorted in favour of a convention.

The convention called—what then? Delegates are next elected; and in the general scramble, the pro-slavery faction—compact, determined, with full concert of action all over the State, and not at all particular as to means—may succeed in electing a strong body of delegates. If, still, the sentiment of the State against introducing Slavery, especially in the mines, should be found too strong, another stratagem is to be resorted to. Slavery is to be excluded from the mines, and admitted into the agricultural portions of the State [as though a law should be passed confining a conflagration or the cholera to the valleys and plains, and forbidding it in the mountains]! Then some few specious provisions are to be thrown in for the benefit of the native Californian counties on the subject of taxation, &c.; and the whole instrument, thus hocus-pocused, is to be presented in a lump, to be voted for at another special election, in the hope that taking the good with the bad, and by another concerted movement among the pro-slavery men—the amended constitution may slip through, and California be reduced to the level of Arkansas, Texas and Mississippi.

This is, in a few words, the imperfect outline of the whole scheme for abolishing freedom in California and degrading it into a slave State. And such is the servility and cowardice of northern men, and the indifference of the rest, that there is much danger the plot may succeed. With scarce a pressure for freedom—two of the three Democratic papers dead against us—the Whig papers either hostile or silent—hardly any of the leading men, in either party, who is not a fanatic for Slavery, or in his heart false to freedom and the State—there seems little room for hope. There is, in truth, no hope but in the masses, the miners and labouring men of the State, whose votes must save the State, if it is to be saved in the coming contest.

THE LEMMON SLAVE CASE.—It is reported that a number of the slaveholders of Kent County, Maryland, have held a meeting and resolved to secure the services of Hon. E. T. Chambers, late a Judge of the Court of Appeals of Maryland, to argue the Lemon Slave Case before the Supreme Court, should it come before that tribunal. The slaves, meantime, are reported as arrived out—in Canada—where they were received by a friend, once a slave, who undertook to take care of himself some time ago, and has a snug farm in that country. The late slaves were presented with something over a thousand dollars before leaving this city. The master and mistress, however, have done much better than that. In addition to the 5,200 raised for them here, $5,000, it is said, have been presented them in Richmond Their clear profit in this business is probably something over $7,000.

☞ THE Telegraph says that General Pierce is in Boston, and, on Saturday, made a visit to one of the public schools, where he made a speech. Among other things, he said, that "the success and honour of an American citizen depends much on his own exertion;" to the truth of which remark, he might have added, I am a very striking exception.

Domestic Correspondence.

FROM OUR BOSTON CORRESPONDENT.

NO. CXVI.

THE ARGUMENT.—*The Webster Funeral—Superiority of Prophecy over History.—Shabbiness of the same—Odorous Comparisons—General Pierce deserts—The Decorations—The Wax Work Show—Mr. Hilliard's Eulogy—Mr. Webster's Small Latin and no Greek—The Correspondent is compassionate — Entail of Marshfield and Fee Simple of State Street—Provision for Mrs. Webster—The Memorial —Impending Doom—Mr. Healey's Picture—The Correspondent describeth and criticizeth it — Modest proposal — Claims to Apotheosis—"Look on this picture and on that"—City Election—Marshal Tukey and the Free Soilers—His defeat—Congressional Election—The Correspondent waxeth savage—He pitcheth in promiscuously, especially into the Free Soilers, &c., &c.*

BOSTON, Dec. 20th, 1852.

I SUPPOSE I ought to give you some account of the Webster Funeral. But it is so long since, that I don't recollect much about it. Besides, the description I gave in advance, in my last letter, should suffice the curiosity of your readers. It is hardly possible that any mere history should come up to such prophecy as that. But it was a very shabby affair—very much inferior to the *first* funeral, when they buried him alive [illegible] had dispensed with the Military Escort, as at first proposed, there would have been no procession at all. And even the Sims Brigade looked slim and shabby, and there was nobody else, except a few lazy fellows in coaches. Nobody on foot and no Cavalcade. Even his friends did not make their appearance in any force. And General Pierce, who had been *underlined* in the Bills of the Play, and was indeed the great Attraction held forth to draw an audience (inasmuch as a live President is much better worth than a dead candidate who could n't even get a nomination), he failed to appear, through some blunder of the Managers. The decorations of the streets corresponded with the Show. They were of the cheapest and commonest description. Over the Washington Street side of the Old State House, there was a wax figure of Mr. Webster, which might have graced "Mrs. Jarley's Vax vork Show," dressed in his favourite blue coat and buff waistcoat! This horror, however, was removed early; but, to the end, there remained two young ladies, also in *wax*, "leaning in various angles o'er an urn" of plaster of Paris—while in the centre was a bust of Mr. W., in the same costly material, and under it the motto, "GOD WILL NOT CAST AWAY A PERFECT MAN!" This is a sample of the best things the streets had to show.

I did not hear Mr. Hilliard's Discourse, though I understand there was no difficulty, after the very first, about getting into the Hall, and I have forgotten what I read of it and have not time to look it up. Only I remember one cruel truth he told, which would have more than counterbalanced, in Mr. W.'s opinion, all his praise, though he laid it on not "with a *trowel*," but with a *hod*—and that was, substantially, that Mr. Webster was not a profound scholar, in the technical sense of the term!—Now, if poor Mr. Webster had a weakness (and I do n't mean to intimate that he had any *other*), it was for being thought a Classical Scholar. I verily believe that he was more proud of his *very* "small Latin" and no Greek at all, than of all his other pretensions to fame put together. And for a competent authority (which Mr. Hilliard is) to put an extinguisher upon these cherished claims, and that, too, in the guise of Eulogy, *was* rather too bad. It was enough to melt the bowels even of, a Garrison Abolitionist. The Subscription, too, to carry out Mr. W.'s testamentary plans is understood to have signally failed. He has not been able to transmit to his heirs his fee-simple in State Street, and so the Entail of Marshfield has fallen through. Sixty thousand dollars, it is said, have been raised and placed in the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company, for the benefit of Mrs. Webster during her life—a provision for an amiable and excellent lady at which every one must rejoice—to revert to the contributors after her death.

For the Memorial only the paltry sum of $15,000 has been contributed, which has contracted the magnificent visions of its projectors within the manageable limits of a Statue. So the scheme will end in giving a job to some American sculptor, by no means a bad ending, either But a dreadful doom, it is feared, impends over the City. I believe I have told you of an acre of canvass filling up the entire platform side of Faneuil Hall, covered with Mr. Healey's "pictorial representation" of the reply to Hayne, into which the artist, in addition to the entire Senate at that time, has successfully attempted the introduction of the entire human race, besides, including several ladies who *ought* not to have been born for several years subsequent to that event. Now, Mr. Healey is a very clever portrait painter, indeed; but he steps entirely *ultra crepidam* (as Mr. Webster might have said) when he attempts Historical painting. Of which this picture is a proof. It is a mere collection of portraits, and tells no story whatever. Mr. Webster stands in the centre, but no one, from mere unenlightened reason, could tell what it was *for*. Certainly no one would suppose he ever had spoken a word or ever meant to. If it were not for the *costumes*, one might suppose him to be Iago just after he had said,

"From this time forth I never will speak word!"

Certainly, posterity might be quite as apt to suppose that it was poor Dr. Webster standing up to receive sentence of death as Daniel Webster making his great Speech. And for this picture, which displaces almost every other portrait, much apostrophized of orators, it is proposed that the city pay $5,000, if an equal sum be raised by contribution of the citizens! It is most devoutly to be hoped that the process of depletion is complete by this time, and that "not one drop of Christian blood" more can be crawn from the suffering saints of State street. For, admitting that Mr Webster has a claim to a place in Faneuil Hall for his Hayne Speech—surely, everybody who did (or who did *not*) happen to *hear* it, is not entitled to share in his apotheosis! And, moreover, his well-wishers should remember that a more bitter Satire on Mr. Webster could not be devised than a picture of him at that culminating moment of his life. It brings, and will bring, more and more forcibly, every year, in comparison the Defender of New England principles of 1830 and the Conqueror of her Prejudices of 1850.

We have had a great row here, for two or three weeks past, about our City Election. It was one of those fights upon which one could look with the most delightful composure— not caring which *whipped*, and certain of being delighted whichever got the *licking*. The Maine Law was the ostensible ground of division; but the dismission of Marshal Tukey (the gallant captor of Sims), by Mayor Seaver, was the real *causa belli*. Tukey led the hosts in opposition to the Mayor, and every possible engine was brought in play to elect his candidate, Dr. J. V. C. Smith. And who do you think the astute ex-marshal managed to array on his side? Why nothing less than the Free Soil Party! This was, as Randolph said of the Coalition between Adams and Clay (which led to the famous duel), a coalition between Blifil and Black George, with a vengeance. But, notwithstanding his Abolition alliance (which was more than he wanted—all that was wished being that the Free Soilers should make no nomination), Marshal Tukey failed of the glorious success which crowned his campaign against Sims. The Liquor Sellers were much better allies than opponents. Mayor Seaver was re-elected by a majority of *thirty-one* votes—being a gain on the last year of *thirty* votes, he then having a majority of *one*.

The Congressional Elections came off last week, and with the most pitiful results. Owing to the insensate folly of the Free Soilers and Democrats in repealing their Majority law, the Whigs have carried all the elections but two Mr. Dewitt, a Free Soiler, and Mr. Banks, a Coalition Democrat, being the only exceptions to the Whig rule. Massachusetts never had such a pitiful representation since Congress was. Not a man, scarcely, of even any local mark. Mr. Walley and Mr. Banks have been Speakers of our State House of Representatives, but the other men are political nonentities, scarcely known out of their own towns. The Massachusetts delegation can say to one another as Sir Robert Walpole did to Pulteney, when they took their seats together in the House of Lords, after their long strifes in the Commons, "Here we are, the most insignificant fellows in the nation!" But the most provoking thing was that had the Free Soilers only turned out as well at this Election as at the State Election, two more Free Soilers, Messrs. C. F. Adams and Wilson, would have been chosen. The votes of two towns alone (Weymouth and Stoughton) would have elected Mr. Adams, had the same number of Free Soilers voted for him as did for Hale in November. And these are the fellows who sneer at the Abolitionists, who are always at work in their way, as *do-littles!* These fellows, who, when they had the opportunity of sending to Congress the man who, by his antecedents, his talent, his learning, his sagacity, his political information, was the very fittest man New England could furnish for public service, had not vitality enough to drag their stupid carcases to the polls to vote for him! And these are the chaps that pride themselves on *doing something!* They have done something now, with a witness.—D. Y.

LETTER FROM PARKER PILLSBURY.

CONCORD, N. H., December 15th, 1852.

DEAR FRIEND GAY: Were my letters of the slightest consequence to the *Standard*, an apology for not writ- [illegible] correspondence as you have enjoyed, particularly of late, favours so small as mine could scarcely be welcome.

The experiences of the "Field Hands" in the Anti-Slavery service are often worth recording, could they be truly described; but you know how difficult it is to speak of "Slavery as It Is." Not much less so would it be to describe Anti-Slavery as It Is.

I wish you and all our Editors and Executive Committees could be aware of the sad results of the late Election upon many in our ranks. A Presidential Canvass oftener than once in four years would nearly ruin the movement. In many places, almost all went to the polls; and many, who have before seemed to be most uncompromising, have since been apologizing for the Pro-Slavery Church, and are clinging to it with renewed zeal; and some have even returned to the sacramental board, where, indirectly at least, the body and blood of slaves are swallowed, as the emblems of the sacrifice of the Son of God. And the motive of declining to vote, because it is a recognition and endorsement of the *Union with Slaveholders*, has, with such, lost all its power. Some are discontinuing the Anti-Slavery papers, and many have directed most of their contributions into political channels. Such are some of the results which we constantly meet. This is not the time for our standard to droop, nor should the force of our sternest protests and rebukes be at all abated.

Was the audacity of our New England Clergy in regard to Daniel Webster ever equalled? It really almost strikes one dumb with admiration. His political profligacies are written on almost every page of our governmental history, he having been, at different times, on almost every side of almost every great question. And yet we are called upon to deem him a pattern politician, worthy of all acceptation, and all imitation.

Not one single great measure, doctrine, or policy even, adopted by the Nation, owes its origin to him—not even the bad ones; and yet, we are to regard him as "the guiding star of the nation"—a statesman, the chiefest among ten thousand, if not the one altogether lovely.

His private, personal vices, and egregious moral profligacies, have been notorious for ever so many years. They have been commented on by the indifferent, condemned by his foes, apologized for by his friends, and believed in by everybody. And yet, by a host of consecrated priests, the most eminent in the land, we are most solemnly assured that, in meekness, he was a Moses; in purity, a Joseph in the palace of Potiphar; in rapt devotion, an Isaiah; in Christian zeal and knowledge, another "Paul the Apostle;" and in heavenly amiability and serenity, a rival of John, "*the disciple whom Jesus loved.*"

Was there ever such blasphemy against the Holy Ghost as are these sermons and pulpit panegyrics which are now stunning the nation, in glorification and deification of that most wretched man? Can these Reverend revilers of all truth and goodness expect us to stultify ourselves down into a belief of such preposterous and glaring absurdities? They may expect, they seem to expect, all this. But when the people do wallow down to such monstrous degradation as that, let them reckon themselves with those to whom "God hath sent strong delusion to believe a lie, that they all may be damned"

But the multitude of clear-seeing and true-hearted men and women in the North, the East, and over the wide West, cannot be thus blindly led. They despise such dishonesty, and spurn those who practice it.

Daniel Webster was the self-styled, and everywhere proclaimed, "Saviour of the Union."

And his gospel of means and conditions was the execution of the Compromises, especially the Fugitive Slave Law, "to the fullest extent—to the *fullest* extent." But is the Law executed? Ask the Rescuers of Shadrach in Boston. Not a man of them is, or can be, harmed. And the Rescuers of Jerry at Syracuse voluntarily surrender themselves for trial, and bid the government defiance. While the Kidnappers' blood at Christiana cries unavenged, the slaves are safe in Canada. Gorsuch and his son both rot in dishonourable graves, and the brave men who sent them there walk all unharmed in the fiery furnace of slave-hunting indignation. Not a hair of their heads has perished.

Call you this Salvation? If so, it must be by Faith. It surely is "not of Works that any man can boast"—any man who lives under and accepts the Websteric Covenant.

There is a Webster Whig at the West, near where I attended a Convention, a zealous champion for the Compromises. A conductor on the "Under-ground Railroad," with four slaves in charge, one Saturday night, thought he would test his devotion to Slavery. He called himself a slave-catcher, with four slaves, bound South. He drove up, late, and asked assistance in his business. The Whig declined. He tried appeals to his conscience, flatteries, and finally bribes. But all availed nothing. At length the man said, "if you will go and see me and the four slaves safe over the river, into Virginia, I will pay you 500 dollars." But, with true Northern Whig devotion, and in genuine Democratic dialect, he said to him, "O, go to hell with your 500 dollars."

Then the man told him truly who and what he was. He was immediately invited in, and his whole train were securely concealed, and safely kept, until Sunday evening. Then, in true "Senator Bird" style and spirit, the Whig Compromiser aided them on to Canada. What a Judas, thus to betray his Southern master, regardless of 500 dollars, and not even receiving so much as thirty pieces of silver.

And all over the West, such Whigs abound. Nor are the Democrats any better. Their Southern overseers cannot trust them a moment out of sight. They invest largely in Under-ground Railroad Stock, and get all the patronage possible If this be Mr. Webster's way to save the Union, let us all pray God to speed on its Millennium. Yours and your readers',

PARKER PILLSBURY.

Miscellaneous News.

MORE than $15,000 have been subscribed in Boston for the Webster monument.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS' paper says that "the coloured young men of Rochester, under the lead of Messrs. Robert Johnson, Benjamin Cleggett, and Howard, have organized a debating and mental improvement society, which promises to be highly beneficial in promoting intelligence and a spirit of progress among them."

THE *Lily* (Mrs. Bloomer's paper,) says: "At the late election in this town, a woman accompanied her husband to the polls, and stood by him till he deposited his ballot. She, of course, knew she could not vote, but as her husband was her representative, it was but right that she should satisfy herself that he performed his duty faithfully. She dare not trust him to go alone, for knowing his weakness, she feared that some evil person would first steal his brains and then steal his vote—and so she would not leave him till all was safe."

RESISTING THE FUGITIVE LAW.—A bill has passed through the Committee of the Whole, of the Ohio House of Delegates, to protect the rights of persons claimed as fugitive slaves. Its provisions are somewhat similar to the famous Vermont law. Prosecuting attorneys are to apply for writs of *habeas corpus* where persons are arrested, and if either party ask, a trial by jury shall be allowed, &c. From the manifestations, it is doubtful whether such a bill can finally pass.

A LARGE number of those celebrated muskets of Geo. Law's, it is said, came up the river and passed through this city on their way to Texas a day or two since. They are also said to have been consigned to a machinist in Troy, who has a contract to fit up 20,000 of them with percussion locks, in place of the old-fashioned flint ones. This looks like bringing these "engines of death" into active service. The proprietor of them must have some information of that army which was seen marching and counter-marching in the air down in Sullivan County. We shall see what we shall see.—*Albany Atlas, 15th.*

EX-SENATOR BENTON said recently in conversation with a gentleman who spoke of his being the last of the group, "CLAY, WEBSTR and CALHOUN are gone; years ago Dr. —— told me, "When these men are dead, you will be fresh and vigorous as ever.' My habits of living do it; until I was thirty, I drank nothing, sir! Since then I have drank only what circumstances made it fit I should drink. Temperance and moderation keep me in health and strength. Besides, I adopt the Roman regime—bathe with cold water, and rub dry. That's exercise. None of your common flesh-brushes, but such as they rub horses' legs with, sir!"

NIAGARA FALLS AS A WATER POWER.—The citizens of the Falls and Eastern capitalists are about to put to practical use the immense water-power now nearly useless. The Lockport *Courier* says, "We are informed that an Eastern Company has been organized for the purpose of constructing [illegible] lage, and empty, of course, into the river below the cataract. The Porters have made liberal donations to the enterprise, and there is no doubt, in the opinion of our informant, but that the project will be successfully carried through.

A DISTINGUISHED Democratic Senator from one of the Southwestern States, has, it is said, decided to go against the acquisition of Cuba in any shape in which the question may come up, on the ground that it would divert planters with their slaves from Texas, and hinder the development of the resources of that State. Several Democratic members of Congress hailing from the slave States bordering on the free States also express themselves opposed to the acquisition of Cuba, as likely to prove disadvantageous to the interests of their own States. There seems to be a strong current setting against the Filibusters generally, and well-informed men are of opinion that Gen. Pierce will take a decided stand against them.

THE ALBANY UNIVERSITY.—The friends of this great undertaking are making renewed efforts in its behalf, and with brighter prospects of success than have heretofore attended their labours. It is proposed to have the whole subject of the ultimate founding of the institution openly and thoroughly discussed in this City, during the coming Winter. To make the occasion one of unusual interest, it is contemplated to have three meetings, one in each of the months of January, February and March, to be addressed by gentlemen of the first literary and scientific attainments and celebrity in our country. These meetings will be largely attended, and cannot fail to result in the accomplishment of much good in the right direction. The young men are also arousing themselves in the matter, and will discuss the University project this Winter, in a manner that will be both interesting and profitable. The feeling throughout the community is deep-seated and earnest in behalf of the establishment of the proposed institution.—*Albany Register.*

A REMARKABLE CONVERSION.—In the Dublin *Tablet*, of the 27th, it is announced that the Right Rev. Levi Silliman Ives, Bishop of North Carolina, has abandoned the Protestant faith, and attached himself to that of Rome. The *Tablet* adds: "Dr. Ives is now in England, and in passing through London last week, on his way to Rome, he had an interview with His Eminence, the Cardinal Archbishop, [Wiseman], who very warmly sympathized with the new convert in his feelings of thankfulness for his mercy, which had been shown him. As Dr. Ives is married, unfortunately there is no prospect of his devoting his energies to the service of the church of his adoption. Dr. Ives, we understand, was much beloved and respected in his diocese in Carolina; and his example is very likely to have a wide influence upon a considerable number of his late clergy. We shall in all probability be enabled in an early number of the *Tablet* to give further particulars of this most interesting conversion."

NEW YORK SCHOOL OF DESIGN FOR WOMEN.—A school (says the *Times*) has been opened by subscription, at the corner of Broadway and Broome-streets, where female pupils will be taught elementary drawing, with reference to furnishing original designs for manufacturers and other purposes, where ornamental designs are required. Lessons will also be given in wood and steel engraving, lithographing, &c. The object of this school is, to give instructions to women either gratuitously, or at very low rates, which will enable them to earn a living by the practice of some of the branches taught in it, or qualify them to become teachers in other schools. The school is conducted by a Board of Managers composed of ladies, aided by an advising committee of gentlemen.

THEN AND NOW.—Fifty years ago steamboats were unknown; now there are 3,000 afloat on American waters alone. In 1800, there was not a single railroad in the world; now there are 10,000 miles in the United States, and about 22,000 in America and England. Half a century ago it took some weeks to convey news from Washington to New Orleans; now not as many seconds as it then did weeks. Fifty years ago the most rapid printing press was worked by hand power; now steam prints 20,000 papers an hour on a single press. Now is a great fellow, but will be much bigger half a century hence.—*Cleveland Herald.*

ILLUSTRATION.—Senator Rusk, referring to the fact that any proposition brought before Congress now, is sure to produce a vast number of political speeches and a large amount of political capital, said, that the fact called to his mind an incident. He was present on one occasion at an Indian "talk," when a man drove up with a barrel of whisky. An old Indian who was sitting by, fixed his eye on the barrel, and after looking earnestly for some time, asked Mr. R. if he knew what was in that barrel. He said it was whisky, he presumed. "No," said the Indian, "*there are about one thousand songs and fifty fights in that barrel!*"

FREE NEGROES IN MARYLAND.—A case of some interest was tried before the Orphan's Court of this County last week, Judges Holliday and McDaniel present. The traverser, Maria Bracker (free coloured), was arrested for a violation of 1839, chap. 38, imposing a fine of $20 for the first offence and $500 for the second offence, upon all free negroes coming from other States into this State. The evidence was clear as to this fact that the traverser had resided in the State of Delaware until the year 1848, and since that time had been a resident of Maryland. The general defence taken was, that under the law of 1777, chap. 6, no prosecution or suit, for any penalty or forfeiture, should commence, unless within one year from the time of the offence committed—more than one year having elapsed in the present case. After argument by counsel, the Court decided that the act of 1777 operates in bar of the prosecution under the act of 1839, and the traverser was therefore discharged. For the State, E. A. Moore, Esq.; for the traverser, J. L. Barroll and G. L. L. Davis, Esqs. It appears to us that the present law is defective, and that the Legislature, at its next session, should make the remaining in the State an offence, as the coming in now is.—*Kent News.*

THE remains of John Quincy Adams were removed this morning (16th,) from the burial ground in which they have been deposited, in order to consign them to a tomb under one of the churches, with the remains of his widow, who recently deceased at Washington, and which were brought to Quincy this morning. The coffin containing the revered remains was opened, and the features of Mr. Adams were found in a perfect state of preservation. Mr. Adams has been dead nearly five years. The body was enclosed in an air-tight case.—*Boston Paper.*

REVIVAL OF THE NEGRO LAWS IN OHIO.—The Cincinnati *Evening Atlas* gives an abstract of a bill recently introduced in that State, by Mr. Cushing, Senator from the counties of Lawrence, Gallia, Meigs and Vinton. It is difficult to understand what are the characteristics of that individual who has thus lent himself to the business of attempting to revive and intensify an old system of persecution against a particular class of our fellow-citizens, upon the ground that they have been clothed, by their Creator, in skins a little darker than our own. Whatever may have been the agencies by which the repeal of the Black Laws of Ohio were secured, public sentiment, in the State, has, we believe, coincided in the propriety and humanity of the result. Once repealed it was believed impossible that they should be revived. We do not now think that it can be done, and we hope, for the sake of humanity, that the bill will be disposed of in such a manner that its author will be deterred from any further attempt of a like character.

The provisions of the bill are substantially as follows:

The first section prohibits the emigration of coloured persons to the State. The second provides for the registration at the Recorder's office of the several counties of the names of all coloured residents of the respective counties. The third command the registration of the newly born. The fourth declares all non-registered persons to be non-residents. The fifth makes it unlawful for non-resident coloured persons to hold real estate in Ohio—all lands so holden shall be forfeited to the State. The Sixth makes it the duty of the Prosecuting Attorneys of the counties in which such lands are situated, to institute proceedings to divest the owner of his title, on the determination of which, the lands are to be sold by the Auditor of the State, as forfeited. The seventh provides for the punishment of those who violate the foregoing provisions, by imprisonment at hard labour, for six to twelve months. The eighth commands the Assessors to make and transmit to the County Recorder separate lists of the taxable property of blacks and mulattoes. By the ninth the Recorders are to ascertain if there are any unregistered persons, and to cause prosecutions to be commenced against them. The tenth punishes those officers who refuse to perform the duties enjoined by the laws.

FUGITIVE SLAVE CASE.—One day last week three negroes, a man, woman and son, belonging to the estate of John Patton, near Alexandria, in Campbell County, Kentucky, escaped from their master, and after travelling by night only, reached this city on the third day after they left home. In the day they lodged in the woods, and when night came they would take up their line of march. On their way they partook of but one meal, consisting of raw bacon, which they took from an outhouse they found unlocked.

It was their design, when they got here, to get on board of the cars, and go northward, but they were misled in regard to the time the cars started, and mistook the cars that came in at night for those going out. On Wednesday night (one week ago yesterday) they emerged from their hiding-place and went to the railroad depot, where their master with two friends awaited them, and asked which was the train going out. The same cars had just come in which the runaways supposed were to leave. One of the friends of the master, upon hearing the question, told them to come with him, and he would show them the cars that were about to start, and they followed him.

He took them just above the depot, and thrust them into a small coffee house or groggery, kept by a German, where they met their master. Both were then tied, and a short time afterward they were started by their captors to the river's edge, near the Water Works, where a skiff was waiting to cross them over to Kentucky, to place them once more in bondage.

The party had nearly reached the skiff—it was half-past ten o'clock at night—when they were suddenly attacked by a couple of persons with clubs, who succeeded in knocking the three captors down and rescuing the slaves. The next day the friends who rescued them had them conveyed across the country, and in twenty-four hours afterward they were without the jurisdiction of the United States. The story of the slaves, and the reason they gave for leaving their master, was, that when their old master died, he made a clause in his will which liberated them in *seven years*, which time they overstaid one year before they escaped. Perhaps it *was so*.—*Cincinnati Inquirer.*

AT a meeting of the Georgia Historical Society, held at Savannah, lately, a paper was read by W. H. Hodgson, the well-known traveller and antiquary, on the proposed Railroad from Savannah to Pensacola. It is urged as another national and highly advantageous portion of the line of communication between the Atlantic and Pacific States, by the way of Tehuantepec. It is estimated that the time from New York to San Francisco can be reduced by these routes to about 14 days, and the distance to about 4,360 miles; a gain of 2½ days in time, and 300 miles over the sea route around the Capes of Florida. The time from New York to New Orleans will, by the same computation, be reduced to about 3¼ days.

CAST iron pavements are being laid in Boston, as an experiment, at the expense of the inventor. The pavement is of a novel character, composed of circular boxes of cast iron, about twelve inches in diameter, and five inches in height, divided into six compartments, so small as not to admit the hoof of a horse. In the present experiment, these spaces will be filled with gravel, but some other substance, such as a composition of asphaltum and sand or gravel, may be found more suitable. The surface of the pavement is grooved to prevent horses from slipping, and on the outer edge of each box are keys which fit in[illegible] firmly together. surrounding boxes, thus binding the whole [illegible] divisions is The thickness of the outer rim and the inner [illegible] of about an inch. The street will be covered with a network of iron, filled in with a substance to produce a smooth and durable surface.

THE total valuation of real and personal property in the United States, including slaves, is, according to the late Census Report, over 7,133 millions of dollars. The States of New York, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts furnish two-sevenths of this amount.

Deaths.

SEGUIN.—On Monday morning, Dec. 12, of disease of the heart, Edward Sheldon Seguin, Esq., aged 42 years, late of the Theatres Royal, London, and the principals theatres of the United States.

GREENOUGH.—In Boston, on the 18th instant, Horatio Greenough, aged 47 years.

Western Anti-Slavery Fair—1852.

THE WESTERN ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR will be held in Salem, commencing December 31st and continuing two days. The object of the Fair is to aid in the restoration of freedom to the enslaved, and in securing and perpetuating the blessings of the free, by publishing and enforcing the principles of justice and freedom upon the Government and people.

Past experience here and elsewhere has demonstrated the utility of Fairs, as a source of Anti Slavery revenue. We therefore hope that the friends of Anti-Slavery principles and measures will be liberal in their contributions and prompt in forwarding them. The more varied and extensive the assortment of articles, the better. The ornamental and the useful, will be alike available. The merchant can contribute from his store, the mechanic and manufacturer from his shop, the housekeeper from her varied and indispensable department and the products of the Dairy and Farm will be especially acceptable. Let none be backward because their contribution must necessarily be small. Remember the importance of our object—the measures indispensable to success—and that money is necessary to procure them. Though Slavery is for the present triumphant, let us not be discouraged or weary of right doing nor tamely submit; but continue faithfully to remonstrate, discountenance and resist.

Donations may be forwarded to J. McMillan, Sam'l Brooke and Tomlinson & Brothers.

SARAH BOWN,	LAURA BARNABY,
HANNAH J. TOMLINSON,	SARAH N. MCMILLAN,
MARGARET HISE,	ELIZABETH P. VICKERS
JANE M. TRESCOTT,	HARRIET WHINERY,
SARAH A. HANNA,	ANNA WILSON,
ANGELINA B. DEMING,	HANNAH M. STRAWN,
SARAH SHARP,	RACAEL TRESCOTT,
SARAH SMITH,	EMILY ROBINSON,
	SARAH DAVIS.

Miscellaneous Department.

MEMOIRS, &c., OF TOM MOORE,

EDITED BY LORD JOHN RUSSELL.

Editor's Preface.

IN the will of the late Thomas Moore, written in 1828, there occurs the following passage:

"I also confide to my valued friend Lord John Russell (having obtained his kind promise to undertake this service for me) the task of looking over whatever papers, letters, or journals I may leave behind me, for the purpose of forming from them some kind of publication, whether in the shape of memoirs or otherwise, which may afford the means of making some provision for my wife and family."

Many years have elapsed since this paper was written, and since the promise referred to was made. But the obligation has not become less sacred, and the reader will not wonder that I have thought it right to comply with the request of my deceased friend.

The papers which have been thus left consist of, A Memoir of his Life, written by himself, beginning from his birth, but only reaching to the year 1799, when he was not twenty years old. A journal, begun in 1818, and extending to the years 1846-7. Letters to and from various correspondents, but especially to his mother.

I have arranged these materials in the following order: I have placed first the Memoir of his Life. I have then given upwards of four hundred letters, extended over the period from 1800 to 1818, with respect to which there is neither memoir nor journal. With these letters there is inserted a short account of his duel with Mr. Jeffrey, written by himself. I have next proceeded with the Journal, which has been very carefully kept till the period of his illness.

In preparing these papers for the press, I have felt the embarrassments which must weigh upon any one who has a similar task to perform.

In the first place, it is not easy to choose between the evil of overloading the work with letters and anecdotes not worth preserving, and the danger of losing the individual likeness by softening or obliterating details.

Upon the whole, I have chosen to encounter blame for the former, rather than for the latter, of these faults. Mr. Moore was one of those men whose genius was so remarkable that the world ought to be acquainted with the daily current of his life, and the lesser traits of his character. I know, at least, that, while I have often been wearied by the dull letters of insignificant men, I have been far more interested by the voluminous life of a celebrated man than I should have been by a more general and compendious biography. The lives of Sir Walter Scott and Madame de Genlis derive much of their interest from the reality which profuse details give to the story. Indeed it may be observed that the greatest masters of fiction introduce small circumstances and homely remarks in order to give life and probability to stories which otherwise would strike the imagination as absurd and inconceivable. Thus Dante brings before us a tailor threading his needle, and the crowds which pass over a well known bridge, in order to carry his readers with him on his strange and incredible journey. Thus Cervantes describes places and persons like one who has himself seen them. Thus likewise Defoe remarks every trifling circumstance which a real Robinson Crusoe might have retained in his memory; and Swift makes his Gulliver carefully minute, in his measurements of Lilliput houses and Brobdignag corn. This attention to little circumstances gives a hue of reality even to these wondrous and fanciful fictions, and makes Don Quixotte, Robinson Crusoe, and Gulliver better known to us than Homer, Virgil, and Shakspeare. But if this is the mode in which these great masters have imparted an interest to imaginary events, it is a proof that in slight, but characteristic, details is to be found the source of sympathy in the story of a real life.

Returning to biography, I will here insert a remark of Lockhart in the seventh volume of his Life of Sir Walter Scott: "Let it be granted to me, that Scott belonged to the class of first-rate men, and I may very safely ask, who would be sorry to possess a biography of any such man of a former time in full and honest detail?" Let us not forget likewise that our literature is spreading every year both in the old world and in the new. In our own country the diffusion of knowledge, and in foreign countries the greater acquaintance with our language, increases the number of readers. In the new world millions are added every year to the number of those whose government and institutions are American, but whose literature is English. Among these increasing millions there will in all probability be communities holding aloft the literature of England through the ocean of time. They will neither be subject to conquest by a superior state like the Greeks, nor exposed to the invasion of barbarians like the Romans. To them the English will ever be a living language, and among them the names of Byron, Scott, Moore, Campbell, Rogers, Wordsworth and Crabbe will ever be famous. Is it too much to expect that the life of each of these men will be the subject of inquiry, of curiosity, and of affectionate concern?

The second difficulty is of a more serious kind. If it is a bad thing to tire the world with details which are not entertaining, it is a much worse thing to amuse them with stories and remarks which are not harmless. The transactions and the conversations related in Moore's Journal are of such recent occurrence that it is difficult to avoid giving pain by the publication of his papers. The world can well bear a great deal of scandal of the times of Charles the Second, which the gossiping pen of Pepys has presented to us. But the times of George the Fourth cannot be displayed with equal unreserve; and in disturbing the dark recesses of society, we may at every instant touch a web which

"Feels at each thread, and lives along the line."

In performing the task I have undertaken, I had two considerations to guide me. In the first place, it was plain that Mr. Moore intended to *leave* out of the materials of his Memoir, Letters, and Journal, "the means of making some provision for his wife and family." In the next place, it was clear that, by assigning to me the task of "looking over whatever papers, letters or journals" he might leave behind him, "for the purpose of forming from them some kind of publication, whether in the shape of memoirs or otherwise," he meant to leave much to my discretion.

With respect to the first of these considerations, the melancholy loss of all his children, and the death of his sister Ellen towards the close of his life, left his beloved and devoted wife the sole person for whom provision was to be made. Mr. Lougman, anxious to comply with the wishes of Mr. Moore, at once offered for Mr. Moore's papers, on condition of my undertaking to be the editor, such a sum as, with the small pension allowed by the Crown, would enable Mrs. Moore to enjoy for the remainder of her life the moderate income which had latterly been the extent and limit of the yearly family expenses.

With respect to the second consideration, I have endeavoured to preserve the interest of letters and of a diary written with great freedom and familiarity, at as little cost as possible to those private and hallowed feelings which ought always to be respected. It is a comfort to reflect that the kindness of Moore's nature, and the general benevolence which his bright talents and warm heart excited, tend to exhibit society, in his view of it, in its best aspect. It is thus with a good portrait-painter. Not only would Sir Joshua Reynolds paint better that which was before him than an ordinary limner, but that which was before him would be better worth painting. For, by agreeable conversation, and by quickness in catching the best turn of the features, he would raise upon the countenance and fix upon the canvass the wisest look of the judge, the liveliest expression of the wit, and the most brilliant glances of the beauty.

Moore's life, from infancy to decay, is represented in his own account, whether in the shape of memoir, letters, or diary. There will be seen his early progress as a schoolboy; his first success as an author; his marriage; the happiness of his wedded life; the distress arising from the defalcation of his deputy at Bermuda; his residence at Paris; his popularity as a poet; and, lastly, the domestic losses which darkened his latter days, and obscured one of the most sparkling intellects that ever shone upon the world. His virtues and his failings, his happiness and his afflictions, his popularity as an author, his success in society, his attachment as a friend, his love as a son and a husband, are reflected in these volumes. Still there are some remarks which an editor may be allowed to make by way of introduction to this work.

The most engaging as well as the most powerful passions of Moore were his domestic affections. It was truly and sagaciously observed of him by his friend, Miss Godfrey, "You have contrived, God knows how! amidst the pleasures of the world, to preserve all your home fireside affections true and genuine as you brought them out with you; and this is a trait in your character that I think beyond all praise; it is a perfection that never goes alone; and I believe you will turn out a saint or an angel after all."

Twice a week during his whole life, except during his absence in America and Bermuda, he wrote a letter to his mother. If he had nothing else to tell her, these letters conveyed the repeated assurance of his devotion and attachment. His expressions of tenderness, however simple and however reiterated, are, in my estimation, more valuable than the brightest jewels of his wit. They flow from a heart uncorrupted by fame, unspoilt by the world, and continue to retain to his old age the accents and obedient spirit of infancy. In the same stream, and from the same source, flowed the waters of true, deep, touching, unchanging affection for his wife. From 1811, the year of his marriage, to 1852, that of his death, this excellent and beautiful person received from him the homage of a lover, enhanced by all the gratitude, all the confidence, which the daily and hourly happiness he enjoyed were sure to inspire. Thus, whatever amusement he might find in society, whatever sights he might behold, whatever literary resources he might seek elsewhere, he always returned to his home with a fresh feeling of delight. The time he had been absent had always been a time of exertion and of exile; his return restored him to tranquility and to peace. Keen as was his natural sense of enjoyment, he never balanced between pleasure and happiness. His letters and his journal bear abundant evidence of these natural and deep-seated affections.

His affections as a father were no less genuine, but were not equally rewarded. The deaths of some of his children at an early period, of his remaining daughter and of his sons at a more advanced age, together with some other circumstances, cast a gloom over the latter years of his life, which was never entirely dispelled.

Another characteristic quality of Moore was his love of independence. Unfortunately for him he entertained, as a young man, expectations of advancement and competency, if not wealth, from a patron. Lord Moira, who assumed that character, seems to have meant kindness, and perhaps to have done all in his power to help the rising poet, but his attempts were not altogether successful. He procured for Mr. Moore an office in the Court of Admiralty at Bermuda, which produced the only great pecuniary embarrassment from which he ever suffered. When Lord Moira went to India, he lamented he could not take Mr. Moore with him, but made some indistinct offer of exchanging some portion of his patronage to help his friends at home. Mr. Moore's answer was prompt and conclusive. Whatever he might have done, had employment immediately under Lord Moira been offered to him, he replied to this last proposal, "I would rather struggle on as I am than take anything that would have the effect of tying up my tongue under such a system as the present."

Within a few days of giving this answer, he was obliged to write to Mr. Power, the publisher of his music, for an advance of three or four pounds, as he had not sixpence in his house.

Lord Moira, who seems to have esteemed Moore's character, was not offended by his spirit; continued to open to him his library and his house at Domington, and was, in fact, of more use to him by that kindness, than if he had carried him to the East Indies to waste his genius in the details of office. It must also be recorded that Lord Moria had given his father an office in Dublin, which for many years relieved Mr. Moore from a burthen he could hardly have supported. It may, however, with truth be averred, that while literary men of acknowledged talent have a claim on the government of their country, to save them from penury or urgent distress, it is better for literature that eminent authors should not look to political patronage for their maintenance. It is desirable that they who are the heirs of fame should preserve an independence of position, and that the rewards of the Crown should not bind men of letters in servile adherence. Rightly did Mr. Moore understand the dignity of the laurel. He never would barter his freedom away for any favour from any quarter. Although the wolf of poverty often prowled round his door, he never abandoned his humble dwelling for the safety of the city, or the protection of the Palace. From the strokes of penury indeed, more than once, neither his unceasing exertion,

"—— nec Apollinis infula, texit."

But never did he make his wife and family a pretext for political shabbiness; never did he imagine that to leave a disgraced name as an inheritance to his children was his duty as a father. Neither did he, like many a richer man, with negligence amounting to crime, leave his tradesmen to suffer for his want of fortune. Mingling careful economy with an intense love of all the enjoyments of society, he managed, with the assistance of his excellent wife, who carried on for him the detail of his household, to struggle through all his petty annoyances attendant on narrow means, to support his father, mother, and sister, besides his own family, and at his death he left no debt behind him.

It is true that Mr. Moore had a small office at Bermuda, and that in his latter days he received a pension of £300 a-year from the Crown. But the office at Bermuda was of little avail to him, was the cause of the greatest embarrassment he ever suffered, and obliged him to pass in a foreign country more than a year of his life. The pension which was granted to him by Her Majesty, near the end of his life, was no more than sufficient to defray, in the most humble manner, the expenses of subsistence. But this pension had no reference to political conduct, and left him as free as it found him.

Another marked quality of Moore was his cheerfulness. Keenly sensitive to criticism, he was yet far more pleased with praise than annoyed by blame, and was always more elevated by admiration than depressed by censure. In all contingencies he could say,

"When equal chances arbitrate th' event
My mind inclines to hope rather than fear."

and when the certainty of a misfortune left no room for doubt, he would write in this tone to Miss Godfrey: "Your friends, the Fudges are nearly out of hand. It was well this shock did not come upon me sooner, as it might, perhaps, (though I doubt whether it would) have damped my gaiety with them; but, I don't know how it is, as long as my conscience is sound, and that suffering is not attended by delinquency, I doubt whether even a prison will make much difference in my cheerfulness:"

"Stone walls do not a prison make, &c."

I crossed from Dover to Calais with him not long afterwards, when he was leaving his country, embarrassed by an unforeseen incumbrance, and with but an uncertain hope of an early return. Yet he was as cheerful as if he had been going for a few weeks' amusement to the continent, and we amused ourselves with imaginary paragraphs, describing his exile as "the consequence of an unfortunate *attachment!*" His sensibility to happy and affecting emotions was exquisite. A return to his wife and children, after even a short separation, affected him deeply; music enchanted him; views of great scenes of nature made him weep. I shall never forget the day when I hurried him on from a pot-house in the Jura mountains to get a first view of the Alps at sunset, and on coming up to him found him speechless [illegible] Blanc.

As he grew older, this sensibility gave a deeper gloom to his sorrows, but during the greater part of his life, his love, and afflictions, and admiration, being much keener than his dislikes, and antipathies, and aversions, he derived from this constitution of his nature a degree of happiness to which few men can attain. To the good qualities of Moore both Byron and Scott, his great cotemporaries, have borne witness:

"I have read Lalla Rookh (says Byron), but not with sufficient attention yet, for I ride about, and lounge, and ponder, and two or three other things, so that my reading is very desultory, and not so attentive as it used to be. I am very glad to hear of its popularity, for Moore is a very noble fellow in all respects, and will enjoy it without any of the bad feelings which success—good or evil—sometimes engenders in the men of rhyme. Of the poem itself, I will tell you my opinion when I have mastered it. I say of the poem, for I don't like the prose at all; in the meantime, the 'Fire-worshippers' is the best, and the 'Veiled Prophet' the worst of the volume."

Lord Byron says elsewhere:

"Moore has a peculiarity of talent, or rather talents—poetry, music, voice, all his own; and an expression in each, which never was, nor will be, possessed by another. But he is capable of still higher flights in poetry. By the by, what humour, what—everything in the 'Post-Bag!' There is nothing Moore may not do, if he will but seriously set about it. In society he is gentlemanly, gentle, and, altogether, more pleasing than any individual with whom I am acquainted. For his honour, principle, and independence, his conduct to Hunt speaks 'trumpet tongued.' He has but one fault—and that one I daily regret—he is not here."

Walter Scott, in his "Diary," gives the following just account of the difference and resemblance between himself and Moore.

"Nov. 22, 1825. Moore. I saw Moore (for the first time, I may say, this season). We had indeed, met in public twenty years ago. There is a manly frankness, with perfect ease and good breeding about him, which is delightful. Not the least touch of the poet or the pedant. A little, very little man—less, I think, than Lewis, and something like him in person; God knows, not in conversation; for Matt., though a clever fellow, was a bore of the first description; moreover, he looked always like a schoolboy. Now, Moore has none of this insignificance. His countenance is plain, but the expression is very animated, especially in speaking or singing, so that it is far more interesting than the finest features could have rendered it. I was aware that Byron had often spoken, both in private society and in his journal, of Moore and myself in the same breath, and with the same sort of regard; so I was curious to see what there could be in common betwixt us, Moore having lived so much in the gay world, I in the country, and with people of business and sometimes with politicians; Moore a scholar, I none; he a musician and artist, I without knowledge of a note; he a democrat, I an aristocrat; with many points of difference; besides his being an Irishman, I a Scotchman, and both tolerably national. Yet there is a point of resemblance, and a strong one. We are both good-humoured fellows, who rather seek to enjoy what is going forward than to maintain our dignity as lions; and we have both seen the world too widely and too well not to contemn in our souls the imaginary consequence of literary people, who walk with their noses in the air, and remind me always of the fellow whom Johnson met in an alehouse, and who called himself 'the great Twaimly, inventor of the flood-gate iron for smoothing linen.' He always enjoys the *mot pour rier*, and so do I. It was a pity that nothing save the total destruction of Byron's memoirs would satisfy his executors; but there was a reason—*Premat nox alta.* It would be a delightful addition to life, if Thomas Moore had a cottage within two miles of me. We went to the theatre together, and the house being luckily a good one, received Thomas Moore with rapture. I could have hugged them, for it paid back the debt of the kind reception I met with in Ireland."

I have placed in the notes some other testimonies to the merit of Moore, for which I am indebted to a cotemporary publication.

The independence of his character, and the fastidiousness of his taste, affected his opinions both in politics and religion. His political sympathies in early youth were deeply and ardently engaged on the side of those who excited and partook in the Irish Rebellion, so wickedly provoked, so rashly begun, and so cruelly crushed, in 1798. But the sight of Democracy triumphant in America soon disgusted him, and speaking of Hudson, one of his earliest and most enthusiastic college friends, who had settled at Baltimore, he writes to his mother, "I shall leave this place for Philadelphia on to-morrow, or the day after. I shall see there poor Edward Hudson, who, if I am rightly informed, has married the daughter of a very rich bookseller, and is taken into partnership by the father. Surely, surely this country must have cured him of republicanism."

In another letter he says: "I have seen Edward Hudson; the rich bookseller I had heard of is Pat Byrne, whose daughter Hudson has married; they are, I believe, doing well. I dine with them to-day. Oh! if Mrs. Merry were to know that! However, I dined with the Consul-general yesterday, which makes the balance even. I feel awkward with Hudson, now; he has perhaps had reason to confirm him in his politics, and, God knows, I see every reason to change mine."

Although the view which he took of America and her institutions was afterwards referred to by him as a mere boyish impression, yet a similar alteration took place in his views regarding his native country. Although nothing could be warmer or more constant than his love for Ireland, he never could look with complacency on the attempts at revolution by force, or even on the organized agitation of opinion which from time to time disturbed the peace of his unhappy country. Of his own feelings he speaks thus in one of the dedications of the Irish Melodies: "To those who identify nationality with treason, and who see, in every effort for Ireland, a system of hostility towards England; to those too who, nursed in the gloom of prejudice, are alarmed by the faintest gleam of liberality that threatens to disturb their darkness (like that of Demophoon of old, who, when the sun shone upon him, shivered); to such men I shall not deign to apologize for the warmth of any political sentiment which may occur in the course of these pages. But, as there are many, among the more wise and tolerant, who, with feeling enough to mourn over the wrongs of their country, and sense enough to perceive all the danger of not redressing them, may yet think that allusions in the least degree bold or inflammatory should be avoided in a publication of this popular description, I beg of these respected persons to believe, that there is no one who deprecates more sincerely than I do, any appeal to the passions of an ignorant and angry multitude; but, that it is not through that gross and inflammable region of society a work of this nature could ever have been intended to circulate. It looks much higher for its audience and readers: it is found upon the piano-fortes of the rich and educated—of those who can afford to have their national zeal a little stimulated, without exciting much dread of the excesses into which it may hurry them; and of many whose nerves may be, now and then, alarmed with advantage, as much more is to be gained by their fears, than could ever be expected from their justice."

Of the political agitation, which, whether under the name of Catholic Association, or any other, has so often been employed as a means to obtain redress or change, he never speaks but with repugnance and dislike. The language used to move an ignorant mass was abhorrent to his taste; the machinery of meetings and societies suited ill with his love of domestic quiet; the fierce denunciations uttered by impassioned orators jarred with his feelings of kindness and good will to mankind.

On the other hand, his spirit of independence revolted against a proposition by which a seat in Parliament was offered him in the days when Mr. O'Connell ruled supreme over the minds of the great majority of the Irish people. If I am not mistaken, he expressed to Mr. O'Connell himself his manly determination not to bend his political will to any one. Thus, in the midst of an agitation purely Irish, the most gifted of Irish patriots held aloof, foregoing the applause in which he would have delighted, and the political distinction for which he often sighed, that he might not sully the white robe of his independence, or 'file his soul for any object of ambition or of vanity.

An equal devotion to truth marked his literary character. The liberal opinions of the Whigs, combined with the literary tastes of the chief members of that party naturally led him to espouse their cause, and live in their society. Yet in his life of Sheridan he did not hesitate to question their policy, and to blame their great leader, Mr. Fox, when his own judgment led him to withhold his assent, or refuse his approbation. For he loved to examine history for himself, and to state fearlessly the opinions which he formed impartially. It is not my purpose here to defend those opinions, or to impugn them; it is enough to say that he did not frame them from any motives of interest, or suppress them from any personal regard.

On his religious opinions I shall touch very briefly. He was bred a Roman Catholic, and in his mature years he published a work of some learning in defence of the chief articles of the Roman Catholic faith. Yet he occasionally attended the Protestant Church; he had his children baptized into that church; and when the Head of his own church was restored to his throne, he dreaded the consequences of that triumph to the liberty which he prized.

Yet he always adhered to the Roman Catholic Church, and when in London attended the Roman Catholic chapel in Wardour street. His answer to a person who tried to convert him to Protestantism was nearly in these terms: "I was born and bred in the faith of my fathers, and in that faith I intend to die." In that intention he persevered to the end. Of two things all who knew him must have been persuaded: the one, his strong feelings of devotion, [illegible] for life and immortality, and his submission to the will of God; the other, his love of his neighbour, his charity, his Samaritan kindness for the distressed, his good will to all men. In the last days of his life he frequently repeated to his wife, "Lean upon God, Bessy; lean upon God.' That God is love was the summary of his belief; that a man should love his neighbour as himself, seems to have been the rule of his life.

As a poet, Moore must always hold a high place. Of English lyrical poets he is surely the first. Beautiful specimens of lyrical poetry may indeed be found from the earliest times of our literature to the days of Burns, of Campbell, and of Tennyson, but no one poet can equal Moore in the united excellence and abundance of his productions. Lord Byron writes, upon reading one or two of the numbers of the Irish Melodies, then recently published. "To me, some of Moore's last Erin sparks, 'As a Beam o'er the Face of the Waters,' 'When He who adores thee,' 'Oh! blame not,' and 'Oh! breathe not his Name,' are worth all the epics that ever were composed."

When we remember that to these early Irish Melodies were added so many numbers of Irish Melodies, and Sacred Songs, each full of the most exquisite poetry, it is impossible not to be lost in admiration at the fancy and the feeling of which the spring was so abundant, and the waters so clear, the *chiare, fresche, e dolei acque*, which seemed to flow perennially from an inexhaustible fountain. In mentioning fancy and feeling, I have mentioned what appear to me the two qualities in which Moore was most rich. His was a delightful fancy, not a sublime imagination; a tender and touching feeling, not a rending and overwhelming passion. The other quality most remarkable, is the sweetness of the versification, rising from the happy choice of words, and the delicacy of a correct musical ear. Never has the English language, except in some few songs of the old poets, been made to render such melody; never have the most refined emotions of love, and the most ingenious creations of fancy been expressed in a language so simple, so easy, so natural.

Lalla Rookh is the work next to the Melodies and Sacred Songs in proof of Moore's title as a poet. It is a poem rich with the most brilliant creations; a work such as Pope always wished to write, such as Tasso might have written. Indeed there is no poet whom Moore resembles in profusion of invention, in beauty of language, and in tenderness of feeling, so much as Tasso. Tasso, indeed, placed certain limits to his own invention by taking for his subject a well known historical event, and adopting for his heroes historical characters. Whether he has gained or lost by that choice of subject may be doubted. On the one hand, he has indeed shed upon his poem all the interest which attaches to the religious enterprise of the Crusaders, and has restrained his own genius from wandering into the wild realms of fiction where some poets of his country have lost themselves; while on the other hand, he has subjected his beautiful poem to a comparison with Homer, Virgil, and Milton, who all surpass him in the simplicity and grandeur which properly belongs to the epic poem.

Moore has, however, taken a different course, and relinquishing all the advantages to be derived from a historical subject, has sought in the abundant spring of his own imagination, the tales upon which his poem is founded. Some few hints, indeed, he has borrowed from Eastern legends, and recorded revolutions, and in one of his letters he says that Mr. Rogers furnished him with the subject of his poem. But the whole narrative of the Veiled Prophet and the Fire Worshippers is in fact his own creation.

It must be owned that Spencer and Moore have subjected themselves to some disadvantage by thus building out of "airy nothing," and giving to the creations of their own brain "a local habitation and a name." Where the foundations are already laid, and are strong in popular belief, the architect finds his task much lightened, and his superstructure more easily raised. It is difficult to feel for Azim and Hated the interest which the name of Achilles inspired in the Greeks, and that of Goffredo in the Italians. But neither Spencer nor Moore were made to wear the heavy armour of the epic poet: light and easy movement, weapons that might be thrown to a distance, and dazzle the beholder as they glittered in the air, fitted them better than the broad shield and the ponderous sword. It is best that every poet should attempt that kind of poetry in which he is most likely to succeed. The Greeks used to say of Archilochus, "If Archilochus had written epic, Archilochus would have been equal to Homer." But it is not clear that Archilochus had a genius for the kind of poetry which he did not attempt. Besides, it is to be said that Moore wrote in an age when, as Lord Jeffrey expressed it, men would as little think of sitting down to a whole epic as to a whole ox.

Be this as it may, the execution of the work is exquisite. Such charm of versification, such tenderness of womanly love, such strains of patriotic ardour, and such descriptions of blind and fierce fanaticism, as are found in Lalla Rookh. Indeed, the fault on which most readers dwell is, that the feast is too sumptuous, the lights of a splendour which dazzles the eyes they were meant to enchant, and the flowers of a fragrance which overpowers the senses they were meant to delight. To this may be added the too copious display of eastern learning, which often brings the unknown to illustrate that which is of itself obscure.

It is difficult to give a preference to one of the poems which compose the volume over the rest. Crabbe preferred the Veiled Prophet; Byron the Fire-Worshippers. Of these, the Veiled Prophet displays the greater power; the Fire-Worshippers the more natural and genuine passion. The story of the Veiled Prophet is somewhat revolting, and requires the most musical and refined poetry to make it even bearable. The Ghebers were, no doubt, associated in the mind of Moore with the religion and the country most dear to his heart.

It may be remarked that the catastrophe of the two poems is too nearly similar. Mokanna and Hafed are both insurgents; both are defeated; both seek death to avoid captivity after the destruction of their armies, and the ruin of their cause. One, indeed, is a monster, and the other a hero; but the similiarity of situation is undeniable.

Paradise and the Peri is a short poem of exquisite beauty, and perhaps the most perfect in the volume.

The Loves of the Angels is another work rich with the same freight of tenderness and fancy, which are the true property of Moore. There is a falling off in the third of the stories, which together compose the poem, and altogether the effect is not that which a single tale would have produced. Sweetness too much prolonged, tenderness not varied with the sterner and more deadly passions, are a food too milky for our un-childlike nature.

I will not enter into the question of the propriety of Moore's earlier poems. Horace is very licentious, yet his odes are the delight of our clerical instructors and solemn critics. Prior is not very decent, but his tales are praised on a monument in Westminster Abbey, and defended by our great moralist, Dr. Johnson. Some of Little's poems should never have been written, far less published, but they must now be classed with those of other amatory poets, who have allowed their fancy to roam beyond the limits which morality and decorum would prescribe.

Two of Moore's cotemporaries must be placed before him in any fair estimate of the authors of the first part of the nineteenth century. Byron rose as a poet above all his rivals. The strength of passion, the demand of nervous expression, the power of searching the heart, the philosophy of life which his poems display, are wonderful. In the last of these attributes only Wordsworth has equalled or surpassed him. In all the rest he has no equal. The personification of Greece, the Sunset at Athens, the lines on Solitude, those on the Gladiator, on the Ocean, on the Battle of Waterloo, are matchless in conception and in execution.

Scott is the other wonder of this age. Picturesque, interesting, and bard-like as are his narrative poems, the pathos, humor, description, character, and, above all, the marvellous fertility displayed in the novels, show far greater power: a whole region of the territory of Imagination is occupied by this extraordinary man alone and unapproachable. Lope de Vega and many others have shown wonderful rapidity in composition, but their works, with very few exceptions have died almost as soon as they were born. The fertility of Voltaire is wonderful, but a great part of what he has written is so objectionable on the score of religion or morality, that even his wit does not furnish salt enough to keep from corruption the intellectual food he has lavished in such abundance. But the novels of Scott will furnish entertainment to many generations; nor is there likely to be any race of men so fastidious as to require anything purer, so spoilt by excitement as to need anything more amusing, or so grave as to scorn all delight from this kind of composition. When these two great men have been enumerated, I know not any other writer of his time who can be put in competition with Moore. If his poetry is not so powerful or so passionate as that of Byron, it is far sweeter and more melodious: if his prose works cannot be weighed either in number or value against those of Scott, his command of poetical resources is far greater, his [illegible] more brilliant and more copious, his diction more easy and more finished. In his hands the English language is no longer that jargon (*quel gergo*) which Alfieri declares it to be, but becomes a soft and tuneable tongue, conveying sentiments the most tender and the most spirited, the gayest, and the most melancholy, in expressions the most appropriate.

Dr. Johnson, in quoting some verses of Pope expressing by sound the sense to be conveyed, gives the line,

"Flies o'er the unbending corn, and skims along the main."

Nothing can less well express rapid motion than this verse. The word "unbending" sounds, as it means, stiff, resisting, &c., and thus clashes violently with the idea of rapid and easy motion, which Pope seeks to convey. Much better has Scott said,

"E'en the light harebell raised its head,
Elastic from her airy tread."

But in fifty instances Moore has done better still. Thus:

"The young May moon is beaming, love!
The glow-worm's lamp is gleaming, love!
How sweet to rove
Through Morna's grove,
When the drowsy world is beaming, love!

Or,

"Oh! had we some bright little isle of our own,
In a blue summer ocean far off and alone,
Where a leaf never dies in the still-blooming bowers,
And the bee banquets on through a whole year of flowers:
Where the sun loves to pause
With so fond a delay,
That the night only draws
A thin veil o'er the day;
Where simply to feel that we breathe, that we live,
Is worth the best joy that life elsewhere can give."

Again—

"But oh! how the tear in her eyelids grew bright,
When, after whole pages of sorrow and shame,
She saw History write,
With a pencil of light,
That illum'd all the volume, her Wellington's name"

And in the address to the Harp of his Country—

"I was *but* as the wind, passing heedlessly over,
And all the wild sweetness I wak'd was thy own."

It is the merit of these passages that they do not merely represent a sound, but they express by sound—scenery, action, and feeling. Lalla Rookh abounds with such passages. I know not how faithfully the translators have conveyed into various languages the beauty of the original, but that Eastern imagery was well transfused into his own tongue by the poet is playfully recorded by Luttrell, who expressed a fact when he wrote,

"I'm told, dear Moore, your lays are sung
(Can it be true, you lucky man?)
By moonlight, in the Persian tongue,
Along the streets of Ispahan."

The political squibs are excellent, from their ease and playfulness: they are two well known to require further notice.

Of Moore's prose works, I need say but little. The Life of Sheridan, and that of Lord Edward Fitzgerald must from their intrinsic merit, always be read with interest. In the former of these works the history of an extraordinary period is sketched with great candour and impartiality, however I may differ from some of the opinions of the author. The character and the fate of Lord Edward Fitzgerald are made to touch the heart of every Irish patriot. The "Memoirs of Captain Rock" abound in wit: the "Travels of an Irish Gentleman in Search of a Religion" display a fund of learning on theological subjects on which Dr. Doyle pronounced his judgment in nearly the following form: "If St. Augustine were more orthodox, and Scratchinbach less plausible, it is a book of which any one of us might be proud." Ireland, which has the glory of having produced Burke and Grattan, both philosophers and orators, may justly boast of Moore as her first poet.

The latter years of Moore were clouded by loss of memory, and a helplessness almost childish; yet he preserved his interest about his friends; and when I saw him for the last time, on the 20th December, 1849, he spoke rationally, agreeably, and kindly on all those subjects which were the topics of our conversation. But the death of his sister Ellen, and of his two sons, seemed to have saddened his heart and obscured his intellect. The wit which sparkled so brightly, the gayety which threw such sunshine over society, the readiness of reply, the quickness of recollection, all that marked the poet and the wit, were gone. As we left his house Lord Lansdowne remarked, that he had not seen him so well for a long time; Mrs. Moore has since made to me the same observation. But that very evening he had a fit, from the effects of which he never recovered. The light of his intellect grew still more dim; his memory failed still more; yet there never was a total extinction of that bright flame. To the last day of his life, he would inquire with anxiety about the health of his friends, and would sing, or ask his wife to sing for him, the favourite airs of his past days. Even the day before his death he "warbled," as Mrs. Moore expressed it; and a fond love of music never left him but with life.

On the 26th of February, 1852, he expired calmly and without pain, at Sloperton Cottage. His body was interred within the neighbouring churchyard of Bromham, where the remains of four of his children had been deposited. The funeral was quite private, as no doubt he would have desired.

The reader of the following memoir, correspondence, and journal may find, with ample traces of a "loving, noble nature," the blots of human frailty, and the troubles and anxieties of a combatant in this world's strife. If so, let him recollect the author's own beautiful words:

"This world is all a fleeting show,
For man's illusion given;
The smiles of joy, the tears of woe,
Deceitful shine, deceitful flow:
There is nothing true but Heaven!

"And false the light on glory's plume,
As fading hues of even:
And Love, and Hope, and Beauty's bloom,
Are blessings gather'd for the tomb;
There's nothing bright but Heaven!

"Poor wonderers of a stormy day,
From wave to wave we're driven,
And Fancy's flash and Reason's ray,
Serve but to light our troubled way;
There's nothing calm but Heaven!"

FANNY WRIGHT DARUSMONT died at her residence in Cincinnati on the 18th inst. She was born at Dundee, in Scotland, on the 6th September, 1795. At an early age she was left an orphan, and was reared, as a ward in Chancery, by a maternal aunt. Her love for study was developed when she was quite a child, as well as her independence of mind.

In 1818, she embarked from Liverpool for New York, and was received into the first classes of fashion and respectability, appearing at the parties of the late Dr. David Hosack, Colonel John Trumbull, the artist, and other families of distinction. In reply to a remonstrance of her uncle for having given America the preference over Italy and Greece, which he recommended, she said, "The sight of Italy, dear uncle, prostrated under the leaden sceptre of Austria, would break my heart."

The fruit of her visit to this country was a work on America, in which she expressed the highest admiration of its institutions and people. It brought her the acquaintance of General Lafayette, on whose invitation she visited Paris, where she resided for some time. But she returned to this country in 1824, with Lafayette, with a view to a permanent residence. A tragedy she published, called Altorf, and founded on incidents in Swiss history, as much perhaps by the excellent playing of James Wallack in the principal character, as by its literary merits, won her considerable distinction.

But the seductions of literary fame could not turn her from certain great moral and social enterprises, in which she had long been interested, and to which she was resolved to give a practical trial. She purchased some two hundred acres of land (all reformers begin with land) at the old Chickasaw bluffs, now Memphis, and peopled it, perhaps we should say stocked it, as slaves are held to be cattle only) with a number of slave families which she had redeemed. These were educated in agricultural pursuits, and in general knowledge, and promised to make a thriving colony, when, unfortunately, the ill health of Miss Wright forced her to go abroad, and to leave the management of her estate in incompetent and wasteful hands. The establishment was consequently broken up, and the slaves sent to Hayti.

She then joined Robert Owen, in his communistic scheme at New Harmony, editing the *New Harmony Gazette* in its behalf, and lecturing at the principal cities and towns of the West. Her eloquence and earnestness soon attracted almost universal attention towards her. It was so uncommon, at that day, for women to do anything but clout babies and wash dishes, that all the men who felt it to be a peculiar right of their own to talk out loud, were mightily offended. They said with the Turks, that no honest woman ought to be seen outside of the nursery, unless she had her head covered, and therefore they pronounced Miss Wright no better than she should be.

But the freedom with which this lady spoke of matters, both in Church and State, the castigations she gave husbands for their tyranny, and wives for submitting to it, with sundry strong hints as to the possible imperfections of the existing relations of society, were even more offensive than her audacity in speaking at all; and the hornet's nests that were let loose upon her, must have astounded the young woman, with her naturally refined and elevated tastes; yet she was not at all intimidated by the fearful opposition raised against her, and still less by the multitude of private [illegible] estranged by her course. She lectured at Cincinnati, at St. Louis, at Baltimore, at Philadelphia, and finally at New York. As her lectures were free, they were, of course, largely attended, and produced the most bitter dissensions in society. Those who were willing to hear her doctrines, and who invited her to speak, were denounced from pulpit and and press, in the vilest terms, and the words "infidel," "communist," "jacobin," "Tom Paine," with a large collateral variety of reproaches, flew about as thick as brick-bats in a Philadelphia riot.

We well remember the first appearance of Miss Wright at the Park Theatre in this city, where she was about to deliver a series of discourses "on knowledge" we believe the subject was. A fierce storm of obloquy broke upon the heads of all who proposed to listen to her words, to see what good or ill there might be in them. The newspapers raved, the pulpits thundered; the parlours shrieked; while, on the other hand, Tammany Hall, then the defender of free discussion, and a host of admirers gathered from the Mechanics and other societies, insisted that she was an angel of light come to emancipate and redeem mankind. The police stept in to keep order between the hostile camps.

Miss Wright was tall and well formed, but by no means handsome woman, though her countenance was animated and intellectual, and her manner graceful and dignified. She spoke in a loud, clear voice, with her manuscript in her hands, using no attempts to excite applause by any tricks of rhetoric or art. Her expressions were bold, but not virulent, and her mode of treating her subject rather too delicate to be generally interesting to a popular audience. Many women that we have since heard, Mrs. Mott, Paulina Wright, Mrs. Rose, Mrs. Smith, &c., are greatly superior to what she was in eloquence.

The excitement in regard to her subsided in a few years, but the ill name which Tammany had provoked by taking her part, and allowing the deistic societies to hold Sunday meetings in the hall, clung to the Democratic party of the city a long while. Is was derided as the "Infidel party" by all the "old fogies" of the day, and even up to the present time, there are some honest citizens who believe that an unmentionable personage who swings a caudle appendage,

"As a gentleman switches his cane"

still haunts the chambers of the venerable building on Frankfort street.

After the close of her lecturing career, Miss Wright removed to Cincinnati, where she was married to a Frenchman of the name of Darusmont, with whom she subsequently disagreed, and got into a law-suit in reference to the disposition of her property. Of the merits of the controversy we have no knowledge.

This is not the place to argue either the excellence or defects of Miss Wright's religious and social creed whatever they were, they seem now to be forgotten; and the public will remember her only as an eccentric and daring woman, full of benevolent enthusiasm, and sincerely devoted to what she supposed was the truth.—*Evening Post.*

PROCLAMATION OF THE EMPIRE OF FRANCE.

ON Wednesday, 1st., the Corps Legislatif met to sum up the votes for the Empire. The Assembly adjourned at 7 o'clock, when the following was proclaimed as the result of the *Plebiscite:*

Yes	7,864,189
No	253,145
Null	63,326
Majority for Louis Napoleon, Emperor	7,547,718

Immediately afterwards the whole Corps Legislatif went to St. Cloud, *en costume*, to announce the result.

Next day, Thursday, at 1 o'clock, P.M., Napoleon made his public entry, as Emperor, into Paris. A brief telegraphic dispatch in the London papers, says his entry took place amid the acclamations of the People, the National Guard, and the Army. The formal proclamation of the Empire was made at the Hotel de Ville at 10, A.M., and at noon the Emperor was addressed by Mr. Billault.

The following is the speech of M. Billault, the President of the *Legislatif corps*, on presenting the number of votes:

"SIRE—We lay before your Majesty the solemn expression of the national will. In the midst of the ovations which were decreed to you by popular enthusiasm, you showed no anxiety to assume a crown which was offered to you on all sides, but desired that France should have time for reflection. You wished that the supreme decision by which a people master of itself, disposes sovereignly of its destiny, should only be taken coolly and in complete liberty.

"Your wish, Sire, is accomplished; a free ballot, secret and open to all, has been honestly examined under the eyes of all, summing up 8,000,000 of votes. It gives to the legitimacy of your Government the widest basis on which any Government in the world has ever been established. From the day when 6,000,000 votes collected for you by the Government itself which they called you to replace, deposited in your hands the fate of the country, France, at each new ballot, has marked, by additional millions of votes, the continued increase of her confidence in you. Without as within her municipalities, in her *fetes* as in her votes, everywhere her feelings have burst forth, from one end of the country to the other, flocking on your steps—hastening from all parts to salute the man of their hopes, and of their faith—our people have sufficiently made known to the world that you are their Emperor—the Emperor chosen by the people—and that you carry with you that national spirit which, on the day marked out by Providence, crowns new dynasties, and seats them in the place of those which it no longer animates.

"Taking shelter under an mimense recollection of glory, under what it holds most precious, its honour abroad, its security at home, and those immortal principles of 1789—the firm basis of new French society, so powerfully organized by the Emperor, your uncle—our nation again raises up with proud love that dynasty of the Bonapartes which sprung from him, and which was not overthrown by French hands. But while preserving a proud remembrance of the great events of war, it hopes to find from you the great things of peace. Having already seen you at work, it expects from you a resolute, prompt and prosperous government. In order to aid you in it, it surrounds you with all its sympathies, it delivers itself wholly up to you. Take, then, Sire, take from the hands of France that glorious crown which she offers you; never has a royal brow worn one more legitimate or more popular."

NAPOLEON III.'S INAUGURAL SPEECH.

The Emperor, then addressed both chambers as follows:

"MESSIEURS: The new reign which you this day inaugurate derives not its origin, and so many others recorded in history have done, from violence, from conquest or from fraud; it is what you have just declared it—the legal result of the will of a whole people, who consolidate in calm that which they had founded in the midst of agitations. I am penetrated with gratitude towards the nation which three times in four years has sustained me by its suffrages, and each time has only augmented its majority to increase my power; but the more that power increases in extent and vital power, the more does it need enlightened men, such as those who every day surround me—independent men, such as those whom I address, to guide me by their counsel, to bring back my authority within its proper limits, if it could ever quit them. I take from this day, with the crown, the name of Napoleon the Third, because the will of the people has bestowed it on me in their acclamations, because the whole nation has ratified it. Is it then to be inferred that, in accepting the title I fell into the error imputed to the Prince, who, returning from exile, declared null and void all that had been done in his absence. Far from me be such a wild mistake. Not only do I recognise the governments which have preceded me, but I inherit in some manner all that they have accomplished of good and of evil; for governments which succeed one to another, are, notwithstanding different origin, liable for their predecessors, but the more completely that I accept all that for fifty year's history transmits to us, with her inflexible authority, the less is it permitted me to pass in silence over the glorious reign of the head of my family and the regular, though ephemeral title of his son, whom the two Chambers proclaimed in the last burst of vanquished patriotism. Thus, then, the title of Napoleon the Third is not one of the dynastic superanuated pretensions which seem to be an insult to good sense and to truth; it is the homage rendered to a government which was legitimate, and to which we owe the brightest pages of our modern history. My reign does not date from 1815, it dates from this very moment when you have announced the suffrages of the nation. Receive then, my thanks, Gentlemen of the Chamber of Deputies, for the *eclát* you have given to the manifestation of the national will, by rendering it more evident by your supervision, and more imposing by your declaration. I thank you, also, Gentlemen of the State, for having been the first to address congratulations to me, as you were the first to give expression to the popular wish. Aid me all of you, and set firm in the land—upset by too many revolutions—a stable government which shall have for its basis religion, probity and love. For the suffering classes, receive here my oath that no sacrifice shall be wanting on my part to ensure the prosperity of my country, and *while I maintain peace, I will yield in nothing which may touch the honour or the dignity of France.*

DULLNESS OF RAZORS.—"Barbers often tell us that razors get tired of shaving; but if laid by for twenty days, they will then shave well. By microscopic examination, it is found that the tired razor, from long stropping from the same hand, and in the same directions, has the ultimate particles or fibres of its surface or edge all arranged in one direction, like the edge of a piece of cut velvet; but after a month's rest, these fibres re-arrange themselves heterogeneously, by crossing each other, and presenting a saw-like edge, each fibre supporting its fellow, and hence cutting the beard, instead of being forced down flat without cutting, as when laid by. These and many other instances are offered to prove that the ultimate parcels of matter are always in motion; and they say in the presence of welding, the absolute momentum of the hammer causes an entanglement of orbits of motion, and hence a rearrangement, as in one piece; indeed, in the cold state, a leaf of gold laid on a polished surface of steel, and stricken smartly with a hammer, will have its particles forced into the steel so as to permanently gild it at the point of contact."—*Scientific American.*

MATERNAL INFLUENCE.—Ex-governor Briggs, of Massachusetts, once related the following incident: After reading with great interest the letters of John Quincy Adams' mother, he one day went over to his in Congress, and said to him, "Mr. Adams, I have found out who made you." "What do you mean?" said he. "I have been reading the letters of your mother," was his reply. With a flashing eye and glowing face, he started up, and in his peculiar and emphatic manner said, "Yes, Mr. Briggs, all that is good in me I owe to my mother."

METHODS OF SPEAKING.—There is speaking well, speaking easily, speaking justly, and speaking seasonably. It is offending against the last to speak of entertainments before the indigent, of sound limbs and health before the infirm, of houses and lands before one who has not so much as a dwelling: in a word, to speak of your prosperity before the miserable. This conversation is cruel, and the comparison which naturally rises in them betwixt their condition and yours is excruciating.